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THE EPITAPH OF JULIUS TERENTIUS [1]

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INVESTIGATION of the Agora area at Dura [2] was begun in 1931,[3] and continued in the following seasons of work. It is now possible to trace in some detail the history of the site, which developed from an open square only partly enclosed by simple market buildings into a complex of public and private structures.[4] From one of the latter, a private house built in the late second century in the northwest part of the area (G_5 H), came the inscription which is the subject of the present paper.

The text is partly incised, partly painted in red (beginning with the E of ΘEAI in l. 8), on an irregularly shaped piece of local alabaster, 0.29 m. x 0.34 m. in maximum dimensions, and varying in thickness from 0.019 m. at the top to 0.011 m. at the bottom. The stone had been left unsquared in order that none of its surface area might be lost.[5] The face was carefully smoothed, but the back was left rough, and traces of plaster indicate that the stone had been attached to or let into a wall,

[1] There is much indebtedness to acknowledge. This inscription has been discussed in common by our Dura group, and many suggestions have been made by various persons, not all of which are specifically acknowledged below. The text was studied in Professor Rostovtzeff's Seminar, where Mr. C. M. Dawson made it the subject of a special report. Advice was furnished also through letters by Monsieur Franz Cumont. I am especially indebted to Professor Rostovtzeff and to Mr. F. E. Brown, former director of the excavations, both of whom have read the manuscript to its great profit, and to Professor Nock, for much valuable advice on the subject of Hellenistic religion.

[2] Section G; cf. the key map published within the rear cover of The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons (Rep. VII–VIII), New Haven, 1939.

[3] Cf. the report of C. Hopkins, Rep. V (1934), pp. 73–97.

[4] Cf. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art (1938), plan on p. 35, and Index s.v. Agora. A full account by Mr. Brown will appear in Rep. IX, now in preparation.

[5] Professor Rostovtzeff informs me of the similar handling of a marble plaque of irregular shape from Samaria now in the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem, containing a painted inscription in honor of Kore, as yet unpublished.

in the manner common at Dura. When found, it was lying in pieces on the surface of the court, the center of dispersion being the base of a column which had supported an epistyle at its east end.[6] Seven of the fragments were recovered, apparently only one, forming the upper right corner, being missing. It is natural to suppose that the stone was broken in falling from a height, that is to say, that it had originally been set into the exterior face of the epistyle, which collapsed after the abandonment of the city.[7]

The script is a well-executed example of the oval alphabet of the second and third centuries, with cursive tendencies.[8] The letters are progressively smaller and more crowded, the height varying from 0.03–0.25 m. in the first three lines to 0.025–0.02 m. in lines four and five and 0.021–0.016 m. in lines six to nine. The language is the conventional "epic" or "hexameter" language of the funerary epigrams. Only EI for I in XEIAIAPXON, the confusion of *tau* for *theta* in ΣTENAPON[9] and probably of AI for E in ΔEΞAΣΘAI, all common enough at Dura as elsewhere, need be noted. A medial dot punctuation is used irregularly.

Ἰούλιον [Τϵ-]
ρέντιον χϵι-
λίαρχον Σπϵίρ(ης) κ′ Παλμ(υρηνῶν).
Τὸν θρασὺν ἐν στρατιαῖς,
στϵναρὸν πολέμοισι, θανόντα,
μνήμης ἄξιον ἄνδρα, Αὐρηλία
Ἀρρία θάψϵ πόσιν φίλιον, ὃν ψυ-
χαὶ δέξασθαι θϵαί, ἐλαφρὰ
καλύψαι τϵ γαῖα.

[6] The alcove behind the epistyle contained a stove, and like the alcoves in the courts of Dura houses generally, doubtless had served as a kitchen.

[7] Inscriptions at Dura more commonly than not were embedded in the plaster of wall surfaces, and building inscriptions were commonly placed over doorways. One was found *in situ* in the Temple of Azzanathkona, Rep. V, p. 151, no. 468, pl. XXVIII, 1. No. 875 (Rep. VII/VIII, p. 171), from the Temple of Adonis, had been set in an epistyle.

[8] The type is common. Cf. for example the instances collected by me at Jerash, C. H. Kraeling, Gerasa, City of the Decapolis (1938), p. 363, fig. 12.

[9] The same spelling in L. Robert, Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec (1940), pp. 145 f., no. 106 (Xanthus).

The final six lines may be considered first. They consist of a cento, more or less metrical in form, more or less conventional in character, rather difficult to punctuate satisfactorily, composed simply by the juxtaposition of phrases.[10]

The first metrical unit is a dactylic hexameter, to be translated "The brave in campaigns, mighty in wars, dead." A somewhat extensive survey of the field produces no adequate parallel to this combination of locutions, by which the author wished to indicate that the man honored, a valiant and powerful fighter, had died in battle. Similar groups of adjectives are, however, not uncommon, though they are ordinarily better combined. Cf. [τ]ὸν κλυτὸν ἐν ζωοῖσι, τὸν ἔξοχον [ἐ]ν μερόπεσσι, τὸν πρώτιστον βουλῆς ἠδὲ πόληος ὅλης (SEG VI, 119; Cotiaeum, 4th cent.); [τ]ὸν κρατερὸν πτολέ[μ]οισι καὶ ἄτρομον [ἀ]σπιδιώτην (ibid. III, 553; Augusta Traiana, the modern Stara-Zagora in Thrace, 5th cent.).[11] The adjective θρασύς is commonly used of gladiators; cf. τὸν θρασὺν ἐν σταδίοις ἐσο[ρᾷ]ς με νέκυν, παροδεῖτα (Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca, 350 = Robert, op. cit., no. 298; Asia Minor, and 351 = Robert, no. 81; Nicaea; additional examples in the gladiatorial texts, cf. Robert, p. 303), and with a similar cadence ibid. 196 (Crete) and SEG VI, 46 (= Robert, no. 89; Ancyra).[12] The second adjective, σθεναρός, occurs likewise commonly of gladiators (Robert, op. cit., nos. 90, 106, 111, 146; cf. p. 303), but also in other contexts, as Kaibel, 949 (Sparta, 2nd cent.): παῖδες ἀνίκατοι, σθεναροὶ κρατεροὶ συνέφηβοι. The term στρατιαῖς is used in military epitaphs; cf. for example Kraeling, Gerasa, pp. 451 f., no. 219: κλημοφόρου στρατιῆσ[ι]ν ἀέθλια μάκρα τελέσσας.

The next unit includes most of the next two lines, and consists of a hexameter and a little more. The final syllables of the

[10] This style of composition has been often noted in the Latin epitaphs; cf. R. Cagnat, "Sur les Manuels Professionnels des Graveurs d'Inscriptions Romaines," Rev. de Phil. N.S. XIII (1889), pp. 51–65; J. Tolkiehn, Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Altertum VII (1901), p. 184; H. Focillon in F. Plessis, Poésie Latine, Epitaphes (1905), pp. xvii, xxix; E. Galletier, Étude sur la Poésie Funéraire Romaine d'après les Inscriptions (1922), 225–235.

[11] Cf. C. M. Danoff, Jahresh. oesterr. arch. Inst., XXX (1936), Beibl. 84.

[12] Cf. also K. Graf Lanckoroński, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens, vol. II (1892), p. 228, no. 208 (Sagalassus, 5th cent.): τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτει Ζήνων θρασυκάρδιος ἀνήρ, χάλκεος ἐν πολέμῳ, χρύσεος ἐν γράφισιν.

proper names Αὐρηλία and Ἀρρία had to be shortened if they were to fit into dactyls, and this the Greeks regularly did, doubtless influenced in part by the fact that these vowels were short in Latin. The section consists, then, of three dactylic elements, μνήμης ἄξιον ἄνδρα, Αὐρηλία Ἀρρία θάψε, and θάψε πόσιν φίλιον. The first two of these make up a hexameter, either if the final *alpha* of ἄνδρα is elided or if the first syllable of Αὐρηλία is regarded as short. Both devices are readily paralleled in the epigrams of Imperial times, where in general proper names are roughly handled.[13] I have come upon no exact verbal parallels to these phrases, but they are, of course, commonplace.

The remainder of the inscription, the last two and a quarter lines, is likewise dactylic. It consists of two metrical elements joined to form a line one foot too long for a hexameter, the final AI of both δέξασθαι and καλύψαι being scanned as short, while the same element is treated as long in ψυχαί and θεαί. The word ἐλαφρά is anapaestic (⏑ ⏑ —), and the first syllable of καλύψαι is lengthened in the usual manner. The syntax of the clause admits of varying interpretations. I prefer to take ΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ as the aorist imperative (= δέξασθε), and ΚΑΛΥΨΑΙ in accordance with the suggestion of M. Cumont, as the aorist optative; this mood occurs regularly in such formulae (see below).[14]

The second of these two phrases is, of course, the universal Latin *sit tibi terra levis*.[15] The notion was not unknown to the Greeks, as instances in Euripides cited by Liddell and Scott show. Cf. Alcestis 463–4: κούφα σοι χθὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, γύναι; Helena 851–3: εἰ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί, εὔψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο κούφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί. Its ap-

[13] Galletier, op. cit., p. 293; on the irregularity of meters cf. ibid., pp. 288–304.

[14] It seems less likely that ΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ and ΚΑΛΥΨΑΙ are aorist indicatives without the augment (= ἐδέξασθε and ἐκάλυψε), because in this case the change in person is less accountable, and the meaning of the second cliché becomes quite distorted. It would, in addition, be possible also to take both ΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ and ΚΑΛΥΨΑΙ as aorist infinitives used as imperatives, or to combine ΚΑΛΥΨΑΙ and ΤΕ as the aorist optative with the subject θεαί, ΕΛΑΦΡΑ ΓΑΙΑ being then an instrumental dative with the *iota adscriptum* omitted. That would, however, involve the sacrifice of the connective, which is necessary even if misplaced *metri causa*.

[15] For this cliché it is enough to cite Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (1922), p. 46.

pearance in epigrams, however, belongs to the period of Roman influence, and is clearly due to the popularity of the Latin formula. This did not, nevertheless, lead to an adoption of a similarly stereotyped expression, but considerable variety occurs, and both κοῦφος and ἐλαφρός, γῆ, χθών, and κόνις are used.

> The closest parallel to the present phrase I have found comes from the West, Himera in Sicily, IG XIV, 329: κούφη σεῖο γαῖ' ὀστέα κεύθοι. Cf. further κούφη γαῖα χυθεῖσ' ὁσίως κρύπτοις σὺ τὸν ἄν[δρα (O. Radet, Rev. Arch. XXVIII (1874), pp. 113 f.; Miletus); γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφράν (Kaibel, 195; Crete, 1st cent.); κοῦφον ἔχοις γαίης βάρος (ibid., 700; Rome, 3rd cent.); ἐλαφρά σοι γῆ γένοιτο (Preisigke, Sammelbuch, 315; Alexandria); ἴη σοι κούφα χθών (SEG VIII, 482; Leontopolis, 1st cent.); γῆς ἐλαφρᾶς τύχοις (Sammelbuch, 6230; Cairo); κούφη{ι} δ' ἀμφιπέλοιτο κόνις (SEG VIII, 497; Terenuthis, 2nd/1st cent. B.C.); ἔστω σοι ὁ πᾶς κοῦφο[ς] λίθος (Kaibel, 538; Theodosia, 2nd cent.). There is no need of multiplying examples. These will suffice to show the range of types.[16]

The other phrase has likewise a formulaic aspect. "Receiving" of the dead in various ways and by various agencies is a sentiment which occurs not infrequently in epitaphs, also "keeping" or "releasing."[17] Cf. CIL II, 2255 (Cordoba, A.D. 19): *Dei Manes receperunt Abulliam;* ibid. III, 3989 (Siscia in Pannonia Superior): *D(is) M(anibus) et Maximianae Aemiliae et securitati eius perpetuae, quae vix(i) ann(os) XXXVII Fl(avio) Ursino dulcissim(o) marito meo, in (tricesimum) et (octavum) ascendens animam deposui meam. vos itaq(ue) Inferi, ad quos me praecipitem Di Superi coegerunt minimo cum tormento, admittite. ossaq(ue) mea in hac arca bene composita condidit Fl(avius) Ursinus maritus;* ibid. VI, 7579 (Rome): *aut si quis*

[16] Interesting in this connection is the study of K. Strauberg, "De Titulis Graecis Sepulcralibus" (Acta Univ. Latviensis, III, 9, 1937, pp. 313–352b) where all kinds of formulae are assembled. The work suffers, however, from using a syntactical rather than an ideological approach.

[17] Santoro, op. cit. (note 27, below), p. 17; W. Schwarzlose, De Titulis Sepulcralibus Latinis Quaestionum Capita Quattuor (Diss. Halle, 1913), pp. 20 f.; Cumont, op. cit., pp. 86 f.; Steuding in Roscher's Lexicon II, 2, 2320. Lists of these texts are given by Steuding and Schwarzlose.

laeserit, nec Superis comprobetur nec Inferi recipiant, et sit ei terra gravis; Buecheler, Carmina Latina Epigraphica, 513 = J. Cholodniak, Carmina Sepulcralia Latina Epigraphica [Memoirs of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, no. LXXIV, 1904], 761; Forum Livi: *rogat[e] ut me infern(as) Stygias Dispater accipiat.* In the Latin texts, the reception or admission is accorded by the Di Manes, by the Inferi, or by Pluto, in the Greek ordinarily by Pluto or Persephone. Cf. SEG VI, 137 (Kurd Köy in Phrygia, 4th cent.): *καὶ Πλουτέος οἰκία νήων, ὃς πάντων νεκύων ψυχὰς παρεδέξατο χήρων*; ibid. I, 61 (Athens, 249–50): *οὕνεκεν οὐ θεσμοῖσι φ[ίλος, θεά, ἔπλετ]ο μοῦνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐσεβίῃ, [εὔφρονι δ]έξο νόῳ*; Kaibel, 452 (Dama in Syria, 3rd cent.): *ἀλλά μιν παῖδάς τε ἑοὺς καὶ αἰδοίην παράκοιτιν δέχεο γηράσ[α]ντ[α]ς ἐ[ς] Ἄ[δου], πότνια νύμφη, καὶ ψυχὰς προὔπεμπε, ὅθι ξ[α]νθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς*; L. Robert, Coll. Froehner I, no. 77 (1936; Alexandria, 1st cent.): *χθονίων ἔνερθε δαιμόνων ἀνάκτορες σεμνή τε Φερσέφασσα Δήμητρος κόρη, δέχεσθε τὴν ναναγὸν ἀθλίαν ξένην*; Pal. Anth. VII, 587: *δέκτο δὲ θῶκος Πλουτῆος*; ibid., 342: *θνητοὺς εἶς Ἀίδης δέχεται.* One text, to which M. Cumont called my attention, gives possibly a Greek equivalent of the Manes, but this is from the West; Kaibel, 624 (Capri): *οἳ στύγιον χῶρον ὑποναίετε, δ[αί]μον[ες] ἐσθλοί,*[18] *δέξασθ' εἰς Ἀίδην κ(αί) με τὸν οἰκτρότατον.*[19] All of this evidence would suggest that the *ψυχαὶ θεαί* of the Dura text, a term for which no direct parallels have been found, should be the deities of the Lower World in some conception. It rested with them to receive the soul of the dead to the positive delights or at least to the comparative rest and security of their realm, or to reject it, and compel it to wander endlessly, on the earth or elsewhere, subject especially to the beck and call of wizards and magicians who might want merely to know the future, but who might also desire to effect any kind of mischief.[20]

[18] The same expression as Hesiod, Opera 122/3; later Greek writers use *δαίμονες* commonly of human souls, and the term Di Manes is rendered into Greek, not only as *Θεοὶ Καταχθόνιοι*, but also as *Θεοὶ Δαίμονες*; cf. now L. Robert, Rev. de Phil. LXV (1939), p. 207.

[19] Late Jewish sources similarly refer to "reception" of the dead by "the fathers" (cf. LXX, IV Macc. 5, 37 and 18, 23).

[20] A fate to which *βιοθάνατοι* and *ἀωροθάνατοι* were especially liable, whether or not *ἄταφοι* (E. Rohde, Psyche (8th ed., transl. W. B. Hillis, 1925), p. 533; Cumont, After

There would seem to be no reason, antecedently, why ψυχαὶ θεαί should not be a translation of Di Manes. The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, II, 72, contains numerous instances of the use of animae in the sense of Manes (that is, of the souls of the dead), and ψυχαὶ θεαί would be a literal translation of Di (or Deae) Animae.

There are, however, certain considerations which make against this assumption, for which an inherent probability is furnished by the following Roman formula. Not only is Di Manes translated into Greek in stereotyped forms (note 18 above). No Latin dedications to the Deae Animae occur, so far as my investigation goes, and no appeals to the Deae Animae to receive the soul of a relative or friend, and this need not be accidental. The term Manes was used principally in two different senses, perhaps never completed confused.[21] In the first the stress was on their divinity, and the term meant the souls of the dead as comprising the deities of the Spirit World in general, without individuality. This usage may be traced back to the Twelve Tables,[22] and it is in this sense that the Di Manes become the Di Inferi, with power to manage the affairs of the Lower World. The other usage has already been mentioned, that of the term as meaning the soul of an individual dead, which had in itself no such power. It is apparently only in this sense that Manes may have anima or animae as an equivalent.[23] Thus, to a person approaching the matter from the Roman point of view, it may well have seemed that only the Di Manes of the older type, not the spirits of the individual dead, could

Life, pp. 128–147; L'Egypte des Astrologues [1937], pp. 199 f.; Nock, Sallustius (cf. below, n. 27), p. xcii). Soldiers were only with difficulty removed from this group (Cumont, After Life, p. 142; cf. however Virgil, Aen. VI, 660), and if Terentius had died in action (see below), his widow may have had reason to be concerned on this point.

[21] There is no need of analyzing completely its range of use, for which it is sufficient to refer to the works of Santoro, Jacobsen, and Otto, cited below.

[22] As quoted by Cicero, Leg. II, 9, 22; 25, 62; cf. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio, III, 2, 1572; J. P. Jacobsen, Les Manes (transl. E. Philipot, 1924), vol. I, pp. 33–52.

[23] In this sense Manes and Lares approach each other in meaning. Cf. the definition of Festus (in Paul. Diac., 121): *Lares . . . animae putabantur esse hominum redactae in numerum deorum* (cited in the Thesaurus, loc. cit.). Jacobsen also remarks that the Manes who rule the dead could not be the individual souls (op. cit., vol. I, p. 49). Cf. also W. F. Otto, Die Manen (1925), pp. 52 f.

share with the Di Inferi or Pluto the power to admit or reject. To a Greek, on the other hand, the entire notion was foreign, and made its way into the Imperial epitaphs in the same way as did the formula *sit tibi terra levis*, as a good idea, a pleasant cliché, without fixed doctrinal meaning and without a stereotyped formulation. In this, as in other respects, the Dura epigram is essentially Greek in spirit, not Roman, although there is much fusion in the third century of the Empire.

To the Greeks, on the other hand, though they might refer to the acceptance of the dead by Pluto and especially by Persephone, it was a familiar notion from the time of Homer down to think of individual souls welcoming, some time after their own demise, the individual souls of others.[24] This conception is not common in the epitaphs, but occurs nevertheless. So runs the expression in a contemporary third-century text found on the road between the Burun Su and Koca Hasan in Paphlagonia, SEG IV, 728: δέκτο δ' ἐ[ὴ] με(τ)έπειτα ἐῆς ἀλόχου ἐρατεινῆς Μαρκιανῆς ψυχὴν ψυχή, τὰ δ' ἄρ' ὀστέα θήκη. Similar is Kaibel, 266 (Melos): καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὀδεύσας εὑρήσεις τὴν σὴν σύνγαμον Εὐτυχίην. So also in the slave epitaph of Dioscorides, Pal. Anth. VII, 178: ἦν δ' ὑπὸ γήρως πρός με μόλῃς, σὸς ἐγώ, δέσποτα, κήν 'Αίδῃ. The idea of reunion with a dead husband, combined with an appeal to the Manes, occurs in Latin in the beautiful prayer found at Rome (cited by C. M. Kaufmann, Die Jenseitshoffnungen der Griechen und Römer nach den Sepulcralinschriften, 1897, pp. 66 f.; CIL VI, 18817): *ita peto vos, [Ma]nes sanctissimae, commendat[um] habeatis meum ca[ru]m et vellitis huic indulgentissimi esse, horis nocturnis ut eum videam, et etiam me fato suadere vellit ut et ego possim dulcius et celerius aput eum pervenire.*

A better parallel to the Dura text is furnished by the epitaph of a Pontarch from Tomi, republished by Professor Robert in his admirable book on the gladiators in the Eastern provinces (cf. above, note 9), pp. 101–103, no. 41. The pertinent part,

[24] There is no need of citing examples, as they are familiar. Plato makes Socrates imply in the Apology (40/41) that the idea was a part of the general Greek thinking about the after life. The same conception was adopted by the Romans together with an interest in individual immortality about the time of the Empire (Nock, H.T.R. XXV (1932), p. 345), and it appears commonly after Virgil.

wherein I should hold with the earlier editors against Robert's scepticism, is as follows:

ταῦτα δ' ἅπαντα ἀν[ύ]σας φθόνῳ πληγεὶς νεμεσήθ[ην
ἀλλὰ θεῶν βουλαῖς εἶχον ψυχαί με μαράντα
Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες οἳ ἐμοὶ σταδίοισι δαμέντες
μνήμην κἀν θανάτῳ τοῦτο φέρουσι γέρας.

Robert reads μεμάραντα[ι], but the text seems to me sensible as it stands: "Having done all this (the services earlier enumerated, including the holding of gladiatorial games) I have met my fate [24a] struck down by envy, but thanks to the gods' plans the souls have received [25] me dead, that is, the martial contestants who, overcome in the amphitheater, bring me this as honor, memory even in death." The language is not completely perspicuous, and the sentiment, gratitude of gladiators toward the occasion of their destruction, not quite obvious. Still many of the gladiators were volunteers, and the profession one which furnished a rare opportunity for display and prominence in a rather drab age. The lot of the professional athlete or daredevil has compensations which offset its drawbacks, and death in the arena was doubtless an unwelcome but by no means an inevitable consequence of combat for the vanquished, while

[24a] The passive of the verb νεμεσάω comes to be used in later Greek in the sense of "to be grudged," i.e. success, "to fail." This is the category I, 2 in the new Liddell and Scott. Robert in his commentary adds a parallel from another Tomi epitaph, O. Benndorf, Arch.-Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich, VI (1882), pp. 29 f., no. 59. In the present instance, the success which the Pontarch was grudged by Fate was continued life, and the verb is practically a euphemism for ἀποθνήσκω.

[25] For this use of the imperfect cf. Kühner-Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, I (1898), pp. 145 f. A similar case occurs in a Rhodian epitaph published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, B.C.H. XXXVI (1912), pp. 230–239 (cf. P. Boyancé, Le Culte des Muses chez les Philosophes Grecs, Bibl. d. Écoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 141, 1937, p. 278, n. 1): οὔ τί σε νώνυμνον κρύπτεν τόδε Δωρίδος αἴης σῆμα.

The passive of μαραίνω is used frequently enough in the sense of "to be killed," "to die"; cf. e.g. Benndorf, op. cit., p. 30, no. 60: ἰς τοῦτ' <αὖτ'> ἐλύθη σῶμα μαραινόμενον. The active is inexplicable, unless we were to discover an object of the "quenching" in the EKXON of the stone (possibly better ἔσχον, "they got" or "took me" than as εἶχον). But as the text is an epitaph, there must be some reference to the death of the person concerned. Unless we are to assume a mistake on the part of the lapidary, we must, I think, regard this active aorist as intransitive in meaning, a usage possibly influenced by the metrically equivalent θανόντα.

to the victors "the world was more than kin." A generous patron of the sport might perhaps not unreasonably look for gratitude even from the non-survivors for the opportunity which he had given them to occupy the center of a brilliant stage.

If this interpretation of the Tomi epitaph is legitimate, there as at Dura "souls" in the plural, and not merely that of a single intimate, might receive a departed spirit. In the Terentius text, it may be assumed on the basis of this evidence [26] that the *θεαὶ ψυχαί* need not be the lords of the Lower World who are to open the door to one more applicant, but the individual spirits of the dead, "the company of the saints," who are to receive Julius Terentius into their number.

The two assumptions upon which this interpretation is based, that of individual immortality on the one hand, and that of the divinity of the departed souls on the other, are familiar in classical antiquity in its later period, and have been much discussed.[27] As we have here to deal with phrases rather than with ideas, as

[26] More parallels could doubtless be produced by a more complete survey of the field. I am inclined to see another instance in the second century inscription from Pergamum, Kaibel, 243 (Inschr. v. Perg., vol. II, no. 576; cf. Boyancé, Culte des Muses, p. 286, n. 3): *ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη μ[ε]τὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους ἥλ[υ]θε σή, ναίεις δ' ἐν μακάρω[ν] δαπέδῳ*, where the *δαίμονες* may be the Di Inferi, the "Other Gods," but the tone of the verses suggests much rather that they are the spirits of the other dead, deified as in the Dura text.

[27] Cf. in general the writings of Rohde, Otto, Jacobsen, Cumont, and Boyancé already cited and also, in addition to the handbooks, B. Santoro, Riv. di Fil. XVII (1889), 1–62; E. Norden, P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI (1916), 16–48; P. Capelle, De Luna, Stellis, Lacteo Orbe Animarum Sedibus (Diss. Halle, 1917); P. Foucart, Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs (Mém. Ac. d. Inscr. XLII, 1918), pp. 130–167; L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (1921), pp. 361–402; A. D. Nock, Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe (1926), pp. xxxii, lxvi, xciv; C. H. Moore, Immortality (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, 1931); A. J. Festugière, L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile (1932); Nock, Hellenistic Religion, Ch. 19 (forthcoming). Much useful discussion occurs in the studies of the Somnium Scipionis by R. Harder (Schriften d. Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswiss. Kl. VI, 3, 1929) and Boyancé (Thèse Paris, 1936). For studies of the epigraphic and archaeological material, in addition to the works of Kaufmann, Stettner, Schwarzlose and Galletier, cf. B. Schröder, Studien zu den Grabdenkmälern der römischen Kaiserzeit (Diss. Bonn, 1902); B. Lier, Philologus LXII (1903), pp. 563–603; J. A. Tolman, A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's "Carmina Epigraphica Latina" (Diss. Chicago, 1910); Mrs. Arthur Strong, Apotheosis and After Life (1915); F. Cumont, Syria X (1929), pp. 216–237.

Professor Nock expresses it, the literary evidence does not concern us, but the attitude of the inscriptions is perhaps worth sketching briefly. Most of the epigrams of Imperial times either ignore the question of immortality or expressly deny it, or at best regard after-life as highly doubtful. Sometimes the matter is treated from a pantheistic angle, which has been traced back to Epicharmus.[28] Usually, however, the body is in the tomb, but not the soul. This is a standard point of view of those epigrams, Latin and Greek alike, which claim for the dead some kind of immortality. Not uncommonly, with a confusion of conventional phrases, the personality, the 'I' of the dead, is both things and in both places. Cf. for example Buecheler 434 (Pisaurum): *nunc vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas tetraque Tartarei per sidera tendo profundi. effugi tumidam vitam. spes, forma valete. nil mihi vobiscum est, alios deludite quaeso. haec domus aeterna est, hic sum situs, hic ero semper.*[29] That is to say, the dead, who speaks, has gone to the abodes below, to the waters of Acheron, and to the dark stars of the abyss of Tartarus, but is nevertheless a denizen of the tomb.[30] Certainly what remains in the tomb, whether the body alone or the body plus something animate, continues to have consciousness in some degree, to know whether its covering of earth or stone is heavy or light, whether it receives the due offerings of food and especially of drink, whether its friends and relatives honor it from time to time with a festival, eating and

[28] The well known phrase, *mortua heic ego sum, et sum cinis, is cinis terra est, sein est terra dea, ego sum dea, mortua non sum* (Buecheler, 1532; Cholodniak, 1133h; similar also Buecheler 974 = Cholodniak, 1123; both from Rome). Cf. Lier, op. cit., pp. 588 f. Related is the common notion of the soul or spirit returning to and being dissipated in the winds, or the ether; cf. the texts assembled by A. S. Pease, Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus (1935), p. 537.

[29] This includes a number of changes introduced by Buecheler. Cholodniak, 1158m, reads without emendation: *nunc modo ad infernas sedes Acheruntis ad undas, taetraque Tartarei sidera possideo*, but admits that the text is corrupt. Note especially the adjective *Tartarei* without a noun. For the meaning cf. F. Cumont, C.R.A.I. 1920, p. 282.

[30] A more remarkable confusion exists in Kaibel 288 (Leucosia in Cyprus), where the tomb is completely overlooked. Earth covered the body, then ἡ γάρ μοι ψυχὴ μὲν ἐς αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐλάς, ὀστέα δ' εἰς Ἀΐδην ἄτροπος εἶλε νόμος. This anomalous descent of the bones to Hades may be connected with the subsequent reference to the deceased as a bridegroom only there: γαμικὸς μοῦνος ἐνὶ φθιμένοις (he was a bachelor while living).

especially drinking in its memory.[31] It is rare, however, that this is enough. Commonly the soul has gone to the Lower World, to the House of Hades, to the Di Manes. Frequently it has, on the other hand, gone in the opposite direction, up. Although the various upper regions were strictly speaking distinguished, and each of them, the sun, the moon, the milky way, and the stars in general, had its own advocates in the later philosophy, to the mass of people and to those who wrote epigrams for them there was no very sharp distinction, one from another. All were more or less interchangeable forms of what Cumont calls "celestial immortality." Sometimes the dead himself even became a star.[32] Sometimes the notions of infernal and celestial immortality are distinguished, with the latter, of course, preferred; so Buecheler 569 (= Cholodniak, 500; Sitifis): *non tamen ad Manes sed caeli ad sidera pergis.* The Elysian Fields may be in the West, but ordinarily in the underworld, as ibid. 1143 (Cholodniak, 687; Rome): *molliter ad matrem placidi descendite Manes; Elysiis campis floreat umbra tibi.*

From immortality to divinity was a considerable step, to which, however, many lines of approach led, so that, with no distinction,[33] children or adults could be addressed as gods and not merely as semi-divine heroes [34] or immortal spirits by their

[31] Cf. Rohde, Psyche, pp. 162–174, 524–527; Jacobsen, vol. I, pp. 19–25, 61–71, 94–111; vol. II, ch. XVIII, for the tomb cults in general. The sentiment is common in the epigrams, e.g. Pal. Anth. VII, 339, 7/8: λοιπόν μοι τὸ κύπελλον ἀποστίλβωσον, ἑταῖρε, κωλυτὴν δ' ὀδύνης τὸν βρόμιον πάρεχε. Thus the dead may be regarded formally as the owner of the tomb, its "house"; cf. J. Wiesner, Arch. f. Rel., XXXV (1938), pp. 314–328.

[32] Festugière, op. cit., pp. 150 f. (Aristoph., Peace, 832–837, and later instances;) Cumont, After Life, p. 105 (IG XII, 7, 123 [Amorgus]): ἀστὴρ γὰρ γενόμην θεῖος ἀκρεσπέριος.

[33] The question of the θεῖος ἄνθρωπος (L. Bieler, Θεῖος ἀνήρ, Das Bild des "Göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum, 1935/6) is quite different (Festugière, op. cit., pp. 40 ff.). His divinization was due to special qualities or special grace, from the latter point of view being more or less accepted by Judaism and Christianity; cf. E. R. Goodenough, By Light, Light (1935), pp. 126 f., 199, 202, 221–229; Festugière, op. cit., p. 130, n. 4, with special reference to Hippolytus, Elench., X, 34, pp. 292 f. (Wendland).

[34] Cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 32; F. Pfister, Die Reliquienkult im Altertum (Dieterich-Wünsch, Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten, vol. V, 1909/1912); Rohde, op. cit., ch. IV, and pp. 527–533; Jacobsen, op. cit., vol. II, ch. I–VIII.

relatives or friends. I cite representative instances: Buecheler, 975 (Rome, Augustan period): *corpore consumpt[o] viva anima deus sum;* ibid. 1109 (Rome): *adfinis memorande, quid o me ad sidera caeli ablatum quereris? desine flere deum;* Kaibel, 314 (Smyrna, 3rd cent.): (οἱ δεῖνα) γονεῖς (τῷ δεῖνι) τέκνῳ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ θεῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπηκόῳ; SEG VIII, 474 (Hermopolis Magna, 2nd cent.): οὐκέτι σοι μέλλω θύειν, θύγα[τερ, μετ]ὰ κλ[α]υθμοῦ ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἔγνων ὡς θεὸς ἐξεγένου - - χαῖρε τέκος· νύμφη ὄνομ' ἐστί σοι;[35] J. G. C. Anderson, JHS XIX (1899), p. 127, no. 142 (Eudocias): τέκνῳ θεῷ μνήμην; MAMA V, 232 (Nacolea): πατρὶ θεῷ.[36] Possibly the fragmentary Buecheler, 1750 (Salonae in Dalmatia):] *qua deum me*[, may belong here, although this interpretation did not occur to the editors, and the possibilities are numerous. A text from Apamea, MAMA IV, 362, is worth quoting in full, because like our Dura text the claim of divinity is not regarded as inconsistent with a residence in the tomb: [τ]ὸ[ν πατέρα Γάιον] Ἀμμίαν τε μητ[έρα] Φιλόξενος κατὰ πά[ν]τα τοὺς θεοῖς ἴσους ἐν τῶιδε τύμβω[ι] θῆκε, καὶ χαίροι(τ)έ μοι κούφην ἔχοντες γα[ῖαν] ἐν θεοῖς θεοί.[37]

The religious and philosophical background of this phenomenon [38] has been discussed many times, most fully and recently by Boyancé in his brilliant study, Le Culte des Muses, Part III. The approach was different for different persons, for Plato and his fifth-century predecessors (e.g. the Pythagoreans) through their half-medical, half-philosophical study of the nature and functions of the soul, for the Orphics through their ancient mystic doctrine and their texts on gold plaques placed in the tomb to guide the dead in his journey,[39] for the Romans through

[35] For this text cf. S. Eitrem, Arch. f. Rel. XXXIV (1937), pp. 316–321; A. D. Nock, Gnomon XV (1939), p. 367.

[36] The editors consider, but properly reject, the hypothesis that this is a dedication to a Πατὴρ θεός, a local form of the god Papas.

[37] For the confusion of ideas cf. Nock, H.T.R. XXV (1932), p. 332. Cf. also the tomb oracle from Thyatira, L. Robert, Études Anatoliennes (1937), p. 130.

[38] It is essentially different from the question of the divinity of rulers and other great men, living or dead, and I forbear to cite the extensive discussion concerned with the ruler cults. Cf. most recently U. Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes," SB Ak. Berlin (1938), XXVIII; O. Kern, Die Religion der Griechen, III (1938), pp. 111–125; W. Otto, SB Ak. München, Phil.-hist. Abt., 1939, 3, pp. 1–16.

[39] E.g. IG XIV, 641 and 642 (Thurii, 4th cent. B.C.) cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 22; Cumont, op. cit., pp. 148 f.; W. K. C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (1935),

their ancestor-cult and the Di Manes, which had by the Augustan period become the term applied to the individual dead,[40] for the Neo-Pythagoreans and for Posidonius, perhaps, and the later Stoics through their cosmology and their half-religious, half-philosophical teaching. Sometimes this background appears in the epitaphs; cf. CIL XIII, 8371 (Cologne; cited by Cumont, After Life, p. 15): *tu Timav[i, d]ulcem nomen, du[lcib]us votis ades, spiritum [que]m tu ferebas corpore elabi sacrum, corpus ut terram manere, spiritum celum sequi, spiritum movere cuncta, spiritum esse quod deum.* More popularly, however, the dead had attained divinity simply because they had become immortal or because they had acquired power; cf. for example Kaibel, 35 (Athens; 4th cent. B.C.): ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθάνατον κοινὸς ἔχει Ταμίας;[41] ibid. 261 (Corcyra, 2nd cent.): ὦι (i.e., τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ) πισθεῖσα δέμας μὲν ἐπὶ χθονός, ἧς ἀπετέχθην, λείπω, τὴν ψυχὴν δ' ἀθανάτην ἔλαχον; Buecheler, 422 (Cholodniak, 388; Rome): *tu reddas, aeterna, piis solacia semper et vitam serves cunctis generisque piorum;* ibid. 1020 (tomb of the Marcellan family): *[sit tibi] terra quies, parcito et ipse tuos.* The combination of immortality and power to help one's former friends and relatives left little lacking to godship.[42]

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pp. 171-182; E. Bikerman, Journ. Warburg Inst. II (1939), 369, 371 (but cf. A. D. Nock, H.T.R. XXXIII (1940), 301 ff.); K. Kerényi, Pythagoras und Orpheus (1940), Part I.

[40] This usage leads easily to misunderstanding. So Altheim, A History of Roman Religion (tr. H. Mattingly, 1938), p. 361, remarks in connection with the problem of the divinity of the Emperors, that every man, when dead, became a god and joined the ranks of the Di Manes. That is true, of course, but in becoming a "god" in the older Roman conception, a dying Roman lost his individuality. In this respect, the Greek terminology is clearer and less open to confusion.

[41] Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 22.

[42] Immortality and escape from Fate were said to be given by various gods and mysteries (Jacobsen, op. cit., pp. 26 f.; Cumont, Syria X (1929), pp. 227–237; Festugière, op. cit., Pt. II, ch. II and IV, pp. 317–328). The power of the dead to harm, and the converse, their power to help, are alike primitive and general conceptions. Cf. Jacobsen, op. cit., p. 21; Rohde, op. cit., p. 533; J. G. Frazer, The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, vols. I–II (1933–34).

I am disinclined to see in the θεαὶ ψυχαί of the Dura text the presence of Iranian or of Semitic religious beliefs, which offer certain tempting parallels. There is no indication of other influences than those of the Greco-Roman religious koine. The "Goddess Psyche" of Iranian and Hellenistic myth (e.g., R. Reitzenstein, SB Ak. Heidelberg VIII [1917], no. 10) is something else altogether.

The present inscription was found in a private house in the center of Dura, not far from the area of the Roman camp.[43] This is a reasonable place for Julius Terentius,[44] a married Roman officer, the tribune of an auxiliary cohort, to have had his residence, but it is a strange place to have found his epitaph, which, every indication suggests, had simply fallen from the epistyle above. No one would suggest, probably, that Terentius was buried in the house or his ashes deposited there under ordinary conditions, and it may be venturesome to admit the possibility at all. No grave, no body, was found in the house, although it was completely excavated down to bed-rock. No niche was found in the court in which a funerary urn might have stood, although there might have been one in the epistyle, which was found in ruins, but the alcove behind it was a kitchen, not a heroon. In the room to the south of the court, the *diwan* or living-room of the house, the entrance of which was close by the place where the fragments of the stone were lying, were features which might suggest some sort of cult center. A blocked-up doorway on the east presented more or less the appearance of an aedicula, and could have served for one, while the bench which encircled the room and gave it its name carried, before the doorway, a square base which might have held an urn, an altar, or cult-object of some sort. Possibly the funerary urn had stood there, and the inscription had been set somewhere in the wall of the room. Conceivably the room may have contained a painted representation of Terentius, no trace of which was found. One thinks in this connection of the frescoes with banquet and hunting scenes of a funerary character found in a house near the desert wall of the city south of the Main Gate,

[43] Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art, pp. 50–54.

[44] It is probably unnecessary to devote much space to a discussion of the names of Julius Terentius and his wife, Aurelia Arria. Under the Empire we have often occasion to remember the remark of Plutarch (Vita Marii, 1) on this subject: *εἰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πολλὰς δίδωσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἡ τῆς συνηθείας ἀνωμαλία.* No Arrii nor Terentii have occurred hitherto at Dura (note however the *Ter* in Rep. VI, p. 488, no. 816, and Arrianus in Rep. IV, p. 87, no. 203, possibly also Rep. VI, p. 210, no. 719), and the tribune and his wife are outsiders, as is natural. Their second gentilicia had been adopted, according to the usual practice, in honor of the imperial family and certainly with its permission, Aurelia from Caracalla (or Heliogabalus, or Alexander), Julius from Maximinus (or Julia Domna).

and occupied by persons either Palmyrene or strongly under Palmyrene influence. The interpretation of these frescoes is difficult, and certainty has not been reached.[45] Nevertheless it is very likely that they were connected with the cult of the dead in some way, although there also no tomb was found, and while house-burial was a regular Mesopotamian practice,[46] to which every excavation bears witness, it was as foreign to Palmyra as to Greece and Rome, and no burials within the city have as yet been found at Dura. On the contrary, every indication points to a regular burial outside the city. A large and even magnificent necropolis existed in the desert west of the city. This has been partially excavated, and an account will be published by Dr. N. Toll in Report IX.[47] In addition, rock tombs have been found in some numbers in the ravines north and south of the city. The intact part of the necropolis, which was covered by a refuse heap in the late second century [48] and so preserved from spoliation, belongs to the late Parthian period of the city. In that part, however, and in the rock tombs of the ravines, were found no funerary inscriptions or texts whatsoever, while elsewhere in the necropolis with its *loculi* and its great tower tombs inscriptions occur only once, in a tomb left unfinished at the abandonment of the city.[49] In the entire

[45] Published by C. Hopkins, Rep. VI, pp. 146–167; cf. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos, pp. 94 f.

[46] Cf. for example B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien I (1920), p. 426. The practice may have existed also in primitive Greece (Rohde, op. cit., p. 166), but in classical times even city burial was reserved for a formally divinized hero of some sort (Rohde, op. cit., p. 128; Pfister, op. cit., pp. 445–465; Jacobsen, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 14, n. 1, 18–20, 75). Terentius was hardly this.

[47] Cf. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp. 55 f.

[48] Not unreasonably to be connected with the earthquake of A.D. 160 (Rep. II, p. 86, no. H 2 = SEG VII, no. 360). It is natural to suppose that the city was cleaned up by the Romans after their occupation. They would be little concerned with the sanctity of the necropolis, and were doubtless in haste to dump refuse as quickly as possible in the nearest spot outside the walls. [Cf. the legal maxim *sepulchra hostium religiosa nobis non sunt* (Paulus ap. Dig. XLVII 12.4). Roman jurists went further: cf. Pomponius ap. Dig. XI 7.36 *cum loca capta sunt ab hostibus, omnia desinunt religiosa vel sacra esse, sicut homines liberi in servitutem perveniunt: quod si ab hac calamitate fuerint liberata, quasi quodam postliminio reversa pristino statui restituuntur*, H. J. Rose, Class. Quart. XXIV (1930), 134 f. — A. D. N.]

[49] Two names scratched over *loculi*, Μαθβαλάτ and Αὐρήλιος ΚΟΥΣ. These will be published in Report IX.

course of the excavations, which have laid bare roughly one-third of the area of the city, there have been found only four tombstones in addition to the present text, none of them *in situ* and none giving any indication of its original location. All of them belong to the last period of the city's existence. One is Greek, metrical, fragmentary, found in Street G outside room 39 in block E_4 (Rep. VI, p. 34, no. 611). Two are Latin and fragmentary, one re-used in the masonry of Tower 1 (the tower of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods [i.e., of Bel]; Cumont, Fouilles de Doura-Europos [1926], p. 359, no. 4), the other in the floor of Porch B of the Temple of Artemis (Rep. VI, pp. 413 f., no. 805). The fourth tombstone is substantially complete, and was found in the Main Gate. It also is Latin, the epitaph of a former centurion of the *Legio IIII Scythica* (Rep. I, p. 49, no. 4).

It is not quite clear what conclusion is to be drawn from these finds. Probably we must conclude, in any case, that while tomb inscriptions may have been used by the early Macedonian settlers, subsequently the practice was given up because of local indifference, and only revived with the arrival of the Roman army. Even then none of the five texts can be shown to refer to a citizen of Dura, and the two which can be identified are of Roman soldiers.

Was there, then, a military cemetery within the walls, from which four, at any rate, of the extant tombstones were plundered and scattered? If so, we have not found it, nor indeed can we well see where it may have been, and while stones may have been scattered after the fall of the city, it is hard to think of them as being carried off and used in buildings during the years of the Roman occupation. In the case of the monument of Terentius, at all events, there can be no question of spoliation. It is possible that the present stone was only a copy of the real tombstone, located elsewhere, or that for reasons unknown the monument was erected apart from the tomb.[50] Possibly the

[50] It is not easy to think of a cenotaph, in view of the verb θάψε. This need not involve inhumation or even deposit of ashes in a tomb, but certainly means that regular funerary ceremonies took place. While the *diwan* may have constituted a *heroon* without a tomb, I cannot understand the epitaph apart from the grave. [ἐλαφρὰ καλύψαι δὲ γαῖα, unless verbiage, suggests that the remains of the dead man were very near.

ashes of Terentius, and of course also of other Roman casualties in the fighting during the reigns of Alexander and Gordian III, may have rested in private houses temporarily, or in what was expected to be a temporary way, because of conditions which made it impracticable to inter outside of the wall, or because it was planned eventually to remove them elsewhere. It is likely that many of the members of the Dura garrison planned not to remain permanently in the city, although there was in this period a tendency for the troops to take local root,[51] and the units of the garrison had been stationed in the city more than forty-five years at the time of the final Persian siege.[52] All is speculation.

Julius Terentius is a well-known figure at Dura. He it is who is represented sacrificing in the presence of his staff to a Palmyrene trinity of gods [53] on the east wall of the *pronaos* of the Temple of Bel. Below are represented the Tychae of Dura and of Palmyra. His name is written at the left of his head: [54] *Jul(ius) Terentius trib(unus)*.[55] Very possibly the scene is to be connected with one of the cohort's military enterprises, *vota suscepta* before an engagement or *vota soluta* subsequently. This would be an explanation of the presence of the two civic Tychae. The one city was itself threatened in the case of a Persian attack, while the other was endangered in the person of its citizens, the soldiers of the cohort. As it is now known that Terentius failed to return on one occasion, a *terminus ante quem* is furnished by that campaign or engagement.

It is possible, with reasonable certainty, to establish the approximate date of this event. Among the records of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum* found in the Temple of Azzanathkona in

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Is it possible that the widow of Terentius decided to leave Dura, and deposited his ashes in what had been their house? — A. D. N.]

[51] Rostovtzeff, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich (1931), II, pp. 137–141.

[52] For the units of the garrison cf. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos, pp. 24–26; Rep. VII/VIII, pp. 86 f.

[53] For their identification cf. most recently H. Seyrig, Syria XIII (1932), pp. 190–195; C. Hopkins, Rep. VII/VIII, pp. 365–367.

[54] Cumont, Fouilles, pp. 89–114, pls. XLIX–LI; Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos, pp. 71–74.

[55] Cumont, Fouilles, p. 363, no. 8a.

1931–32 were two extensive fragments of the official journal, of the *acta diurna*.[56] The earlier of these (DP 3) belongs to the time of Alexander, and the *signum* is given and other instructions issued, as would be expected, by the tribune, Julius Rufianus. In the later (DP 9–14), however, which belongs to the year of Gordian's first consulship (A.D. 239), the same office is performed by a legionary centurion, the *praepositus cohortis* Avitus. This was clearly a special situation, due to the temporary absence of a tribune. In view of the fact that there is other evidence to connect Terentius with the cohort at just this time, there is no objection to supposing that the absence was caused by his death.

This evidence is furnished by the fresco in the Temple of Bel. In offering sacrifice, Terentius is accompanied by a considerable number of persons (at least twenty), the relative importance of whom is indicated by their size in relation to the tribune, and by their relative nearness to him. It is unfortunate that names and designations have been regularly omitted, for uniforms and equipment vary somewhat, and we might otherwise have derived some information on such matters as insignia of rank. There is, however, one exception. The figure standing immediately to the rear of Terentius, and a little to his left, is designated as follows:[57] Θέμης Μοκίμο[υ] ἱερεύς. Concerning the names, Cumont has said all that is necessary. Both are Palmyrene, both occur otherwise at Dura.[58] Cumont drew the correct conclusion that Themes, son of Mocimus, held an official position in the cohort. That was reasonable in view of his military dress, and it is understandable on the basis of the oriental point of view, which regarded the priestly office as something to be filled by a professional. In the West, as earlier in Greece, the military commander could himself by virtue

[56] Cf. Rostovtzeff, Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft (Münchener Beitrage zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte XIX, 1934, pp. 367–370); Rep. V, pp. 296 f., 299.

[57] Cumont, Fouilles, p. 363, no. 8b; cf. ibid. p. 113.

[58] Especially Moqimu, which is common. Taime occurs more properly spelled (Θαίμη) on a fragment of painted wall from the Temple of the Gaddé (Rep. VII/VIII, p. 283, no. 913b), and with the spelling Θαῖμος in the southwest tower of the Main Gate (Rep. V, p. 23, no. 394).

of his office conduct the necessary religious rites for his troops, but not in eastern units, accustomed to the idea that the priest was someone specially qualified, specially selected and specially inducted. In support of the theory that such units in the third century might have attached chaplains may be cited, not only the ambiguous ἱερεῖ λεγι[ω]ναρίῳ of the Temple of Bel, but also two legionary priests of the early fourth century in Egypt,[59] and confirmation comes through the second of the two *acta diurna* just mentioned (DP 9–14). Column II of that fragmentary and difficult text begins with the statement by the *ord(inatus) princeps* of the Order of the Day, to which obedience is sworn (if that is the correct interpretation of the obscure passage) by him and by his staff. Among the latter Mr. J. F. Gilliam noted the name *Themes Mocimi*, and before it the letters *DOS*; that is to say, *sacer]dos*. In line 9 of the same column occurs also]*R Themes Mocimi*, in the same transaction on a later day, preceded however by a lacuna, but on a little scrap from column I, Mr. R. O. Fink discovered the confirmation: *sacer(dos) Them[es*. In both cases the *bucinator* preceding is named Priscus, so there can be no doubt of the identity of the two *sacerdotes*. Thus the priest was a formal and regular member of the staff of the cohort's commander, with a relatively high position. The list of positions in the Dura papyrus is as follows: *signifer, bucinator, sacerdos, tesserarius, ?, signifer ii, signifer iii, discentes*.[60] This order and this particular group corresponds

[59] Cumont, Fouilles, p. 376, no. 14; cf. p. 113. Cumont, knowing less of the Dura garrison than is now known, understood *legionarius* here in the loose general sense of "military," and this may well be right, although the presence of legionary detachments in the city makes it possible to take the term in a more technical sense. For the priests of the 3rd Gallic and 1st Illyrian legions in Egypt in the fourth century, cf. J. G. Milne, Greek Inscriptions (Cat. Gen. d. Ant. Egypt. de Musée du Caire, vol. XXIII [1905], p. 45, no. 9238b) (A.D. 323); Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. V (1935), p. 247, n. 123. In Egypt, however, as Professor Nock reminds me, there was a priestly class, in Syria only priests of individual temples.

[60] There is a certain difficulty here which must not be minimized. Mr. A. S. Hoey points out that the fresco represents an act of worship in honor of Palmyrene gods who have no place in the official military calendar, the Feriale Duranum (DP 2, now in Yale Class. Stud. vol. VII). He feels that Themes cannot have been an official chaplain of the cohort, but merely have represented it in the worship of its native gods just as others properly qualified might offer worship in its behalf to Mithras or Jupiter Heliopolitanus or other popular deities not officially recognized. He calls attention to

to none of the standard patterns listed by Domaszewski,[61] but with troops in the field there would of course be variations from the norm prescribed in Army Regulations. It is possible that the absence of such *principales* as the *imaginifer*, the *optio*, and the *tubicen* may nevertheless have been due in one or another case to the same reason as is assumed for the tribune Terentius, their death on the field of battle.

Mr. Fink gives us the following comparative statistics for the cohort as between DP 3 and DP 9–14. In the earlier of the *acta diurna* the strength was as follows: *pedites* 914, including 9 *ordinati*, 8 *duplicarii*, and 1 *sesquiplicarius*; *dromedarii* 34, including 1 *sesquiplicarius*; *equites* 223, including 5 *decuriones*, 7 *duplicarii*, and 4 *sesquiplicarii*. In the later text the figures are: *pedites* 781, including 6 *ordinati*, 8 *duplicarii*, and 1 *sesquiplicarius*; *dromedarii* 36+, figure for the *immunes* missing; *equites* 138 (or possibly 238, or 134/234, it being not quite certain whether to read *VIII* or *IIII*), including 4 *decuriones*, 6 *duplicarii*, and 2 *sesquiplicarii*. The contrast is marked, especially with the *pedites* and *ordinati*. Battle losses furnish one, though of course only one of several possible explanations of the loss in strength of the unit during the intervening decade.

Little is known of the political and military situation of the Euphrates frontier between the campaign of Alexander Severus against the Persians, which came to its somewhat ambiguous conclusion in A.D. 233, and the beginning of Gordian's campaign ten years later.[62] Alexander was defeated, according to the

two priests of Jupiter Dolichenus in contemporary texts, cited by Domaszewski, Die Religion des römischen Heeres (1895), p. 64. They are as follows: W. Brambach, Corpus Inscr. Rhen. (1867), 645 = CIL XIII, 7786, A.D. 250 (Remagen): *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Arcias Marinus sacerdos Dolicheni donum donavit equitibus C(o)hortis I F(laviae)*; W. Henzen, Ann. Inst. Corr. Arch., LVII (1885), p. 290, no. 38 = CIL VI, 31181 (Rome): *Soli Invicto pro salute Imp(eratorum) et Genio n(umeri) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) eorum M. Ulp(ius) Chresimus sace[rd(os)] Ioris Dolich[eni] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*. In his opinion, none of these priests were in any way official. The question is obscure, but in my opinion Themes' mention with the *officiales* of the cohort does attest his official position, and justifies the view expressed in the text. A full exposition of Mr. Hoey's views is presented in the T.A.P.A. LXX (1939), pp. 456–481.

[61] "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres" (Bonner Jahrbücher CXVII (1908)), pp. 58 f.

[62] Cf. most recently Ensslin in Cam. Anc. Hist. XII (1939), pp. 69, 86 f.

fullest account,[63] although the details of the campaign are obscure. Marching in three widely separated columns, he is said to have held back the center, commanded by himself personally, in northern Mesopotamia, until the Persian king Ardashir was able by a rapid movement to check the Roman left advancing from Armenia into Media and then to concentrate upon and annihilate the Roman right apparently moving down the Euphrates. This manoeuvre of Ardashir seems to involve a startling defiance of time and space, but otherwise the account is not impossible. The location of the action against the right column is not precised in the tradition, but it was certainly below Dura, and as the capture of none of the Babylonian cities is reported, it cannot have been far below it. A reflection of the battle may well be seen in DP 74,[64] the marriage contract of a soldier and a soldier's widow drawn up in the winter-quarters of an otherwise unknown cohort, the XIIth Palestinian, and dated on the first of October, A.D. 232.[65] There is every reason to suppose that the cohort had been enrolled to take part in Alexander's campaign, and that it is not further attested because it was subsequently disbanded. That the widow's, Aurelia Marcellina's, husband was killed in battle with the Persians is indicated by the date and by the reference to the winter-quarters, showing that the campaign season was over. It is interesting to note that the cohort was not, however, in spite of Herodian, annihilated. The tradition of the complete destruction of this division of the Roman forces comes from a source unfriendly to Alexander, and it is inconsistent with the later situation reported by the same writer,[66] that the Persians,

[63] Herodian, VI, 5/6.

[64] Rep. VI, pp. 433–435.

[65] It is desirable to take this occasion to correct a mis-reading of this text which was published in Rep. VI. The reading there given, *ἐν καύνῃ πρὸ[s] χειμασίᾳ σπείρης, κτλ.*, was based on the theory that *καύνη* could be a phonetic development from *canabae*, for which the late variant *cabanae* is found. This is now clearly impossible, and the true reading appears from a comparison with DP 101, of A.D. 227 (Arch. Hist. du Droit Orient., I [1937], pp. 261–288; Rep. VII/VIII, pp. 433–441): *ἐν Σαχάρῃ παραχειμασίᾳ* as follows: *ἐν Κάτνῃ παρ[α]χειμασίᾳ*. No Qatna seems otherwise known in this region (R. Dussaud, Topographie Historique de la Syrie [1927], Index), but the papyrus cannot have been brought from far.

[66] Herodian, VI, 6, 5/6; cf. id., VII, 8, 4. The unreliability of Herodian was pointed out long ago by H. Schiller, Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit, I, 2 (1887), p. 781, n. 1.

instead of advancing to exploit their victory, accepted a peace, and remained quiet for three or four years. Probably the truth was that the battle was severe and indecisive, and left both armies lacking a taste for more. Both sides could conclude an agreement on the basis of the *status quo*, a settlement which the more imperialistic Romans found unworthy and dishonorable, and criticized severely.

In A.D. 238, either still during the reign of Maximinus or in the confusion immediately preceding and following his death, this peace was interrupted by offensive operations of the Persians, led by Ardashir or by his son and later successor, Shapor. Nisibis and Carrhae were taken in the North; later Antioch itself was threatened.[67] Our few sources add nothing more, but a Dura graffito shows that the Euphrates line was endangered also. A tangled mass of scratches from the House of Nebuchelus,[68] a leading Dura merchant who had become Aurelius Nebuchelus through the Constitutio Antoniniana twenty-five years before, yielded clearly the enigmatic remark: *Ἔτους νφ′ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ λ′ κατέβη ἐφ' ὑμῶν Πέρσης.* In the middle of April, then, in A.D. 239, the Persian descended upon Dura.[69] This confirms and is confirmed by the epitaph of Julius Terentius. It is unnecessary to insist upon details. Terentius may have been killed in the foray or assault of the thirtieth of Xandicus, or in another. It is clear in any case that the Persian operations which later compelled the personal intervention of Gordian III were located not only in the North, but along the Euphrates as well, a situation which had existed a decade earlier before the campaign of Alexander,[70] and which led to the organization of

[67] Ensslin, op. cit., pp. 86 f.

[68] Rep. VII/VIII, pp. 172 f., no. 876; cf. p. 179.

[69] Rep. IV, pp. 112–114, no. 233; cf. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos, p. 27. It is immaterial whether *ὑμῶν* be interpreted as "you," that is, the Romans or the Roman garrison, or as miswritten for *ἡμῶν*, "us." Even as a Roman citizen, Nebuchelus may not have been reconciled to the life of Dura as a Roman garrison town. The presence of so much soldiery in a small place must have disrupted completely the normal life of the citizens and placed all civilians in a more or less uncomfortable situation. There is no indication among Nebuchelus' accounts that he lived by selling to the troops of the garrison, and he need not have regarded the "descent" upon the arrogant westerners with entire dissatisfaction.

[70] Herodian, VI, 2, 5; cf. Rep. IV, p. 114.

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the frontier on a different basis, with a *dux ripae* in residence at Dura, apparently as part of the settlement of Gordian's murderer and successor, the Emperor Philip.[71]

[71] The standard view is that *dux* was not used as a regular title before the time of Diocletian (Seeck in R.E. V [1905], 1869), that is, *dux ripariensis* or *limitaneus*. Earlier the term is applied to army leaders (from the reign of Marcus); cf. Schiller, Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit, I, 2, pp. 769, 773, 819, 869; II, p. 93. The title at Dura was *δοὺξ τῆς ῥείπης*, a clear anticipation of the Diocletian institution, to the development of which Aurelian also contributed. Cf. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos, pp. 27 f. We have the names of four of these *duces*. One, Domitius Pompeianus, is known from undated texts from the palace in the northeast corner of the city (Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp. 28, 52, and pl. X, 1). Another, Julius Julianus, is mentioned in two dedications from the Dolicheneum (Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 25), one of which is dated in the Seleucid year 562 (A.D. 249–50). He was previously known from a text from Bostra dating from Philip's reign (Dessau, 2771; cf. id., Prosop. Imp. Rom., II [1897], p. 197, no. 243. Stein in the R.E. X (1919), 653, no. 286, adds nothing) where he was *praefectus Legionis I Parthicae*, and is called *dux devotissimus*. This may have been his station prior to becoming *dux ripae* at Dura. The other two holders of this office known to us are named in the horse-register DP 3, verso (Rep. V, p. 297), Ulpius Tertius as of the year 251 and Aulus Licinnius Pacatianus in 245. The last named has the earliest date, and may very well have been the first of the series. It is now clear, as was noted by Mr. Brown, that he is the person honored in the inscription on the column found just west of the city arch, and published by Mr. A. M. G. Little, Rep. IV, pp. 72–74, no. 169. It was restored as follows by the editor: [Τὸν] λαμπρό | [τα]τον ὑπατι | [κὸν Κλαύδι | ον Σολλέμ] | νιον Πακατι | ανὸν Ἀντίγον | ος Μαρίωνος | ἀρχιερεὺς τὸν | [εὐεργέτην]. (This was the *legatus pro praetore provinciae Arabiae* under Alexander Severus [E. Groag, A. Stein, Prosop. Imp. Rom., II², 1936, p. 250, no. 1030] who had no known connection with Dura.) It is now legitimate to restore the beginning as follows: [Τὸν] λαμπρό | [τα]τον ὑπατι |- [κὸν καὶ δοῦ | κα Α. Δικίν |]νιον. Later, of course, the *duces* as other military commanders were chosen from the *equites*, but the same need not have been true at this time. The office of the *dux* developed out of the practice of combining several armies under a single extraordinary commander with this title. Such a post may have been held under Alexander by Maximinus, if it is to this that he refers in his speech to the army in Herodian VII, 8, 4: Πέρσαι . . . ἡσυχάζουσιν . . . πείρᾳ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἃς ἔγνωσιν ὅτε τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατοπέδων ἡγούμην. The "deeds" performed by Maximinus when commander of the legions (or "camps") "on the banks" must have been accomplished during Alexander's campaign of A.D. 232. Later, according to the same Herodian, there was peace. I do not believe that Maximinus was ever an administrative *dux ripae*, even if, as is possible, *στρατοπέδων* here means *castra* and not *legiones*.

POSTSCRIPT

BY

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

This invocation of the 'soul gods' or 'divine souls' to receive Terentius, and the material which Welles has collected in illustration of it, may have a bearing on the *ordo commendationis animae*. The form of the Rituale Romanum, reprinted in each volume of the Breviary, includes one prayer with these words

> Suscipiat eum sanctus Michael Archangelus Dei . . . Veniant illi obviam sancti Angeli Dei et perducant eum in civitatem caelestem Jerusalem. Suscipiat eum beatus Petrus Apostolus, cui a Deo claves regni caelestis traditae sunt. Adjuvet eum sanctus Paulus Apostolus. . . .

and another with

> Egredienti itaque animae tuae de corpore splendidus Angelorum coetus occurrat: judex Apostolorum tibi senatus adveniat: candidatorum tibi Martyrum triumphator exercitus obviet: liliata rutilantium te Confessorum turma circumdet: jubilantium te Virginum chorus excipiat: et beatae quietis in sinu Patriarcharum te complexus astringat.

Neither is old: something very like the words quoted from the first is found in the twelfth century Ordo Pontificalis reconstructed by M. Andrieu,[1] and the second is a composition of Peter Damian.[2] Nevertheless, a long evolution lies behind both petitions and their setting. The passing of a Christian called for the prayers of his brethren, as they accompanied him to the grave and as they met for that Eucharistic worship which was the focal point of their communal life: it called also for a more direct appeal to God at and immediately after the agony of death. Then and later, God was asked to deliver the soul, as he

[1] Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge I (Studi e teste LXXXVI), 281: here the *suscipiat* is found but not as part of the present prayer *Delicta juventutis* . . . (which stands in Breviarium Gothicum, P. L. LXXXVI 984. I know nothing of the age of its form as printed. L. Gougaud, Rev. bénédict. XLVII (1935) 9 n. 1, gives no evidence for *Delicta juventutis* earlier than 1512: and his control of the material is unrivalled).

[2] Epist. 15 (P. L. 144, 497–8), a fact noted by L. Gougaud, Ephemerides Liturgicae, XLIX (1935), 12, in his full and admirable discussion of *commendatio animae*. The Reverend Professor J. Quasten of the Catholic University of America, to whom I am much indebted for generous help, drew my attention to this paper.

had delivered this or that character in the sacred tradition, Susanna, Daniel, Thecla and the like,[3] and to receive it, *suscipe*:[4] it was commended to him, *commendamus*,[5] even as Jesus had commended his spirit into God's hands.[6]

God alone could deliver or receive the soul: but he was commonly thought to act through angels as intermediaries, and Luke 16. 22 represents a widespread Jewish belief.[7] This function of an angel or angels corresponded to that of Hermes *psychopompos*, an analogy from which Tertullian De anima 53 did not shrink, of the winds, and of other agents; the word *angelos* was neutral.[8] It was widely held that angels summoned, guided, and welcomed the soul [9] — just as they had

[3] The so-called *Orationes Cypriani* (W. Hartel, Cypriani Opera, III 144 ff.), though not associated with the moment of death, present an early specimen of this type of prayer: cf. A. Baumstark, Oriens Christianus, N. S. IV (1915), 298 ff. on the pervasive character and wide extension of analogous prayer and typology. For the evidence (including that in Celtic), cf. Gougaud, Eph. Lit. XLIX (1935), 3 ff.

[4] Leclercq in Cabrol-Leclercq, Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de liturgie, IV 445: E. Diehl, Inscr. lat. chr. 2376: Dessau 1738 *receptus ad deum* (probably Christian).

[5] Tertull. Exhort. cast. 11 (of living and dead); Ambrose Ep. 39. 4 (XVI 1099 Migne), De excessu fratris sui Satyri I 80 (ibid. 1315).

[6] Luke 23. 46. Professor Campbell Bonner sends me word of a funerary stele, of limestone, 26.5 cm. high, 24 cm. wide, inventory number $\frac{10}{\text{AH}}$ excavated by the University of Michigan expedition under E. E. Peterson in a cemetery of 5–6th century at Kom Abu Billu, the ancient Terenuthis; it shows an *orans* in a small gabled structure, column on each side, low pediment above (now broken away): at level of her feet are a cat in the left corner, a hawk in the right; the inscription runs ЄICXIPENILZ which Professor Bonner interprets — surely aright — as *εἰς χῖρ<ας Ἰρ>ήνι* (Εἰρήνῃ) *ἐτῶν ἑπτά*. Professor Bonner has further remarked on the frequency of liturgical echoes in Coptic epitaphs, e.g. in H. R. Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from ostraka, stelae, etc., in the British Museum.

[7] Cf. Strack-Billerbeck ad. loc. For reception by Jesus, as in Acts 7. 59, cf. Diehl, Inscr. chr. lat. 2009.1, Th. Ruinart, Acta sincera (1859 reprint), 434.

[8] Cf. F. Cumont, Rev. Arch. 6th Ser. XIII (1939), 26 ff. and in Pisciculi . . . Franz Joseph Dölger . . . dargeboten, 70 ff.; also J. Bidez-F. Cumont, Les mages hellénisés, II 283 n. 2.

[9] Cumont, Pisciculi, 75. Cf. also Acta Thomae 22 (Lipsius-Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II ii 135), the prayer of Macrina in Greg. Nyss., Vita S. Macrinae (P. G. XLVI 984D), and Visio Pauli passim (e.g. 14 p. 131 ed. Silverstein; M. R. James, Apocryphal New Testament, 531), references which I owe to the kindness of Professor Quasten: Joh. Chrysost. De sacerdotio VI 4 (P. G. XLVIII 681) the prayer of Melania quoted by Quasten, Röm. Mitt. LIII (1938), 63: Leclercq, Dict. I 524 ff., 1514, 1517 f.: R.-S. Bour in Dict. théol. cathol. III 472 f. for representations of holy figures meeting the dead person: M. R. James, The Testament of Abraham, 129 f. and ibid. 14 ff. for

their part in the other solemn acts and occasions of religion.[10]

The crystallization of Christian liturgical prayers was slow, and their survival fortuitous. We may here note Constitutiones Apostolorum VIII 41. 5, in which God is entreated to give the aid of the angels to the dead man, ἀγγέλους εὐμενεῖς παράστησον αὐτῷ; the Gelasian Sacramentary, with *Suscipe Domine animam servi tui Illius ad te revertentem de Aegypti partibus* [*et*] *proficiscentem ad te. Emitte angelos tuos sanctos in obviam illius, et viam iustitiae demonstra ei. Aperi ei portas iustitiae et repelle ab ea principes tenebrarum*, a petition the essence of which reappears in numerous liturgical works[11] including the Spanish Liber Ordinum, which has also *Suscipe, Domine, animam famuli tui Illius. . . . Angeli lucis tue eam, Domine, suscipiant deducendam, qui tue Maiestati atque clementie representent inlesam*;[12] the Book of Cerne, a ninth century manual of private devotions, probably based on an original of the seventh or eighth century, with *rogo Mihahelem archangelum sanctum et gloriosum qui ad animas custodiendas potestatem accepit ut animam meam suscipere dignetur a corpori meo exiturum . . . Adsistant mihi omnes sancti apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Patriarchae et prophetae praecamini pro me.*[13] To turn castwards, the burial service for a layman in F. C. Conybeare, Rituale Armenorum, includes the petition (p. 127) 'That the angel of peace may hand on his spirit unto the rest of the just, let us pray' (p. 128): 'And do thou bring near his spirit, which thou hast consigned and committed into the hand of thy angel, unto the throne of thy holy

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the presence of good and evil angels at death and a judgment of the individual. In Tertull. De anima 53 the soul knows its destiny *de ipsius statim angeli facie*: in Goar, Euchologion (ed. 2) 432 ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ψυχὴ μέλλει μετὰ βίας ἁρπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων φρικτῶν refers to any dead man, not just to the wicked.

[10] Peterson, Das Buch von den Engeln, 72 f.

[11] Ed. H. A. Wilson, 296. For parallel texts cf. L. Gougaud, Rev. bénédict. XLVII (1935), 9 f.

[12] Ed. M. Férotin (Cabrol-Leclercq, Mon. eccles. liturg. V), 112. The Reverend E. C. Ratcliff has kindly drawn my attention to the importance of Spain in the development of this type of prayer, and of Irish monks in disseminating Spanish forms: it is to be hoped that he will give a full treatment of the theme.

[13] Ed. A. B. Kuypers, 80 f. with the appendix of E. C. Bishop: F. Cabrol, Dict. arch. chrét. III 3309.

glory:'[14] a Coptic form of Extreme Unction includes the prayers:

Et si praecepisti (Domine), ut acciperes animam eius e manibus angelorum lucis in virtute salvante eum a daemonibus tenebrarum, transfer eum in paradisum laetitiae, ut sit cum omnibus sanctis

and

Et si mandasti accipere spiritum eius, feratur per angelos duces viae ad lucem in habitationes tuas aeternas.[15]

The rôle of the angels is well established. From early times, martyrs and saints were entreated for their intercession in all its power: but so far as I can see, a petition that they should meet or receive the soul is not found in extant liturgical forms earlier than the Antiphon *in paradisum deducant te angeli, in tuo adventu suscipiant te martyres et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Hierusalem*, certainly in use by the eleventh century (how much earlier is disputed)[16] and the prayer in Andrieu's Ordo Pontificalis (p. 103, above): the prayer of Peter Damian seems not to have passed into liturgical use till the sixteenth century: I have found no analogy in the more conservative practice of the Greek Rite.

Nevertheless, the idea is old. Heaven meant a place in the bosom of Abraham and of the Patriarchs, a place with the saints and martyrs, and presumably a welcome. A tractate in the Babylonian Talmud includes this statement:

Said Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Gammada in the name of Rabbi Jose ben Saul. When a righteous man is departed from the world, the ministering angels say to the Holy One, blessed be He: Master of the world, Mr. So-and-so the righteous is coming. He says to them: Let the righteous men come forth and go out to meet him and let him enter into peace so that they may (*or* shall) rest in their beds.[17]

[14] Note also p. 132 'and dost welcome the spirits that are gone to rest:' for the Armenian rite cf. n. 24 later.

[15] H. Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in administrandis sacramentis (Würzburg, 1864), II 490, 501 — quotations which I owe to the kindness of Professor Quasten. There is a prayer in the Armenian Communion of the Sick (Conybeare 117), 'Let us ask of the Lord for the angel of peace to be guardian of our souls.'

[16] I have been unable to see B. Capelle's article, maintaining an origin in an Ambrosian form, probably of the fifth century (Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiennes, VIII (1923), 161 ff.): cf. Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft, III 218, IV 330, and *contra* VII 301, VIII 297 f., XIV 296. The date sounds very bold.

[17] Ketubot 104a (L. Goldschmidt, Der Babylonische Talmud, IV 801). The trans-

The sentiment expressed is not very remote from the pagan expectation that men of a certain excellence would be welcomed by their peers across the divide; [18] the epitaph on one small boy claims for him the welcome by *mater ecclesia* assigned by Cyprian De lapsis 2 to the martyrs; [19] and Peterson has reminded us of the ancient habit of meeting a ruler or potentate with appropriate honors.[20]

We must reckon with this, as for instance when the Life of St. Melania the younger describes her reception by angels, prophets, apostles and martyrs (70 p. 84 f. Rampolla: the Latin text, p. 40, mentions only their praise of her and prayers for her) [21]: but there are other factors which seem of more general importance. When Gregory Nazianzen prays for his brother, 'O neighboring martyrs, be kind and receive to your bosom the blood (i.e. descendant) of Gregory,' [22] his first thought is of the reception of his brother's remains by the relics of the martyrs: this idea is found elsewhere, and there is other evidence that a man buried *sociatus martyribus* was thought to derive very great blessings.[23] In epitaphs we find not only the very common

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lation here given is due to the kindness of Professor H. A. Wolfson, who adds this note: "According to another reading of the text the words 'to meet him and let him enter' are to be translated as follows: 'to meet him. And *they say* to him [that] he may (or shall) enter. . . .' It is not clear whether the underscored *they say* in this reading refers to the 'ministering angels' or to the 'righteous men.'" — Cf. the reception of Vibia among the righteous after she had been led in by the Good Angel. F. Cumont, Les religions orientales (ed. 4), 61 fig. 3.

[18] Hyperid. Epitaphios, 35: Themistius XX p. 234 C (p. 286. 26 ff. Dindorf) where *δῆμος ἀγαθῶν δαιμόνων* is parallel to the epitaph on Terentius: IV Macc. 13. 17 (cf. p. 84 n. 19 above) is a transformation of the 'slept with his fathers,' of Kings and Chronicles, into this style. For an early parallel cf. P. Jacobsthal, Metropolitan Museum Studies IV (1934–6), 130 f. on his Nekyia vase.

[19] Diehl 2500 B.

[20] Das Buch von den Engeln, 74.

[21] Diehl 2009 and cf. the vision in Passio S. Perpetuae 11 (O. von Gebhardt, Ausgewählte Märtyreracten, 80) *qui (angeli) ubi viderunt nos honorem nobis dederunt, et dixerunt ceteris angelis: Ecce sunt, ecce sunt, cum admiratione.* Yet this motif is notably rare in such accounts of the deaths of martyrs and saints as I have read. Sulpicius Severus Epist. III 16 (to which Professor Bernard Peebles drew my attention) makes the dying Martin say *Abrahae me sinus recipit* — but he says it to the Devil, who has appeared: and Martin while alive was regarded as a saint.

[22] Epitaphia 20 (P. G. XXXVIII 20): H. Delehaye, Le culte des martyrs, 134.

[23] Delehaye 161 ff.: Diehl 3360. 7, 3483. 5; Ruinart 475 f.

petitions to martyrs and saints for their prayers, but also requests that they will receive the dead man:

accipite sancti . . . (Diehl 2169); *sancte Petr(e) Marcelline suscipite vestrum alumnum* (ibid. 2138 B12); *te suscipian* (i.e. *suscipiant*) *omnium ispirita sanctorum* (ibid. 2377); *sancte Laurenti, suscepta abeto anim*[*am*] (ibid. 2377 n.): cf. *a deo et santis acceta* (3335).

This emphasis on martyrs and saints, above all on martyrs, is more than a simple continuity with pagan thought. The martyr was thought to have repeated, in his way, the passion of Christ: confessors who suffered, but did not die, claimed in the third century powers of dispensation which were a menace to ecclesiastical discipline. After the storm passed, the cult remained and grew. Other Christians could not ignore the danger of damnation: even Paul had not regarded his salvation as unconditionally secure (1 Cor. 9. 27). Such fears of exclusion from bliss or from participation in the afterlife as existed in pagan antiquity were not of comparable intensity or diffusion. Christian epitaphs and funeral orations may postulate the salvation of the dead man as assured: but prayers and monuments alike show the intensity of men's fears of perils after death, of the *principes tenebrarum* (p. 105 above).[24]

Gregory the Great (Dial. IV 11, P. L. LXXVII 337) tells how Nursinus, a priest, when dying shouted joyously *Bene veniant domini mei, bene veniant domini mei; quid ad tantillum servulum vestrum estis dignati convenire? venio, venio; gratias ago, gratias ago.* Those around asked him to whom he was speaking: it was Peter and Paul, and such visions, says Gregory, are com-

[24] Cf. J. Quasten, Röm. Mitt. LIII (1938), 53 ff.: M. Bloomfield, HTR XXXIV (1941): also L. Gougaud, Rev. bénédict. XLVII (1935), 9 f. on *repelle ab ea* (i.e. *anima*: or *eo*) (*omnes*) *principes tenebrarum* in the formula cited p. 105 above; Pseudo-Mellitus in Fabricius, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti, III 622, *principes tenebrarum non occurrant mihi*; Conybeare, Rituale Armenorum, 131 'And now do thou heal his wounds, and convey him peacefully past the principalities of darkness, lest they should find their own wickedness in thy servant. Nay rather blot out, O Lord, and efface the handwriting of their influences and inworkings, which they have sown in him, and vouchsafe to him a goodly journey,' 133. 'And let not any filthy and unclean devil presume to approach him, such as assail the body and souls of the heathen, who possess not the birth of the holy font, and have not the dread seal laid upon their graves. But thy servant here who has been called and invited by thy ambassadors, and who believed in thee in his lifetime. . . .' For a later period cf. Geiger in Handwörterbuch deutschen Aberglaubens (ed. Bächthold-Stäubli), VIII 455.

monly vouchsafed to the righteous; *quod plerumque contingit iustis, ut in morte sua sanctorum praecedentium visiones aspiciant, ne ipsam mortis suae poenalem sententiam pertimescant.* This comment touches the heart of the matter. You could not go down to the darkness with the proud words of Virgil Aen. XII 646 ff. or of IV Maccabees 5. 37: you craved help and mercy and, if it might be, a welcome; and the saints and martyrs were strong to aid.

THALLUS: THE SAMARITAN?[1]

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IN THE extant writings of certain of the Church Fathers there are some interesting references to a man named Thallus. At the present time, beyond what can be inferred from these early Christian references, nothing is certainly known about him. In recent years, however, attempts have been made to fix the identity of this Thallus. Because of its potential significance for the early history of the gospel tradition, one of these attempts has become rather popular. Much of the acclaim over this suggested identification would seem to be based on a confusion between what has recently been said about Thallus and what is actually known about him from the early Christian references. Consequently, numerous errors of fact and fancy have arisen. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate, first, what is actually known about the Thallus referred to by the Church Fathers, and second, the validity of the identification currently proposed.

I

The scattered references among the writings of the Church Fathers are conveniently collected in Müller, F. H. G. (Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum), III (Paris, 1849), 517–519 and now also in Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. (Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker), 2B (Berlin, 1929), 256 and Commentary 2D (Berlin, 1930).[2] Since this is all we know about

[1] I am indebted, for helpful suggestions, to my colleagues Professor C. P. Bill and Dr. N. J. DeWitt, and, by correspondence, to Professors K. Lake and J. Whatmough (Harvard University), R. Marcus (Columbia University) and Mr. H. Youtie (University of Michigan). I wish particularly to thank Professor A. D. Nock for critical suggestions regarding the final form of this paper. None of them is, of course, responsible for the errors I may have committed.

[2] There is no essential difference in these two collections. The Chron. of Eusebius survives only in an Armenian version (authoritatively translated by Petermann) cf. Karst, G. C. S. (Die Griech. Christl. Schriftsteller), XX (Leipzig, 1911). 125, 22, 23. Not fully cited by Müller or by Jacoby, but important, in my opinion, is Africanus, ap. Euseb. P. E., x, 10, p. 488 C (ed. Gifford, II, 39): *καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ κάστορος ἱστο-*

Thallus, all the recent speculations must be based on interpretations of these texts. Some of these texts tell us nothing but his name, usually linked with those of Kastor and Diodorus.

Assuming that these references [3] are to the same person (cf. F. Gr. Hist., 2D, pp. 835 ff.), what can we say about him? He seems to have written in Greek. He seems to have written a chronicle of world history in three books.[4] He seems to have been a euhemerizer of ancient Greek and Oriental history and mythology [5] which may account for his apparent popularity with the Church Fathers [6] and may account for the strong words (*ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀλόγως*) of Africanus who resents his apparent euhemerization, at one point, of Christ.[7] Eusebius

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ριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων. "And the histories of Thallus and Kastor, also from Polybius and Phlegon, and from others too who were careful about Olympiads."

[3] It is not here pertinent to discuss the textual problems involved. They do not materially alter, in any case, the translations.

[4] Cf. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes, III, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1898), 368–369. The exact title and nature of this work of Thallus can only be guessed at now. On this point the Armenian version of the Eusebian Chron. is correctly translated by Petermann: *E Thalli tribus libris*; cf. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte (Leipzig, 1895), 146.

[5] A specific part of which was devoted to Syria (['Ασ]*συριακά?* see F. Gr. Hist., 2D, p. 835) may be inferred from Eusebius, P. E., x, 10, p. 489 A. It is unlikely that this means a history of Syria, as Freudenthal thinks (Hellenist. Studien, I, 100 ff.); cf. Täubler, Rhein. Mus., N. F. LXXI (1916), 572 ff.

[6] Cf. Christ, Gesch. d. Griech. Litteratur, II, 1, 6th ed. (München, 1920), 415 ff.

[7] This is the opinion of R. Laqueur in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Thallos. It is true that, in all probability, a work of three books, chronicling over a thousand years of world history, cannot have gone much into detail. But it is also true that such works tend to be more detailed in the events nearest the author's own time. We cannot now tell how Thallus apportioned the events he recounted. He may have merely mentioned an eclipse in a given year which Christians, later, found useful in their description of the darkness accompanying the final Passion. But note, they do not seem to have felt that this mention of an eclipse buttressed only an argument in proof of the darkness (see note 15 below) — this seems to have been taken for granted — but rather (possibly it is something in the way it was mentioned) that the interpretation of Thallus irked them. Since his general euhemeristic tendency is reasonably clear (besides the direct citations of the Church Fathers, his name is usually linked with Kastor and Diodorus), his mention, no matter how brief, of this darkness held miraculous by the Christians, may have seemed an extension of his euhemerism which the Christians could only deprecate — as Africanus seems to do. For some interesting remarks on this general problem see M. P. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion (Oxford, 1925), 279 ff.; cf. Susemihl, Griech. Litt. Gesch., I (Leipzig, 1891), 316 ff. and Jacoby, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Euemeros.

states [8] that Thallus brought his history down to the 167th Olympiad = 112/109 B.C. This must be a textual corruption,[9] for Africanus states that in his third book Thallus refers to the darkness of the crucifixion in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (i.e., first year of the 202nd Olympiad).[10] He must, then, have written sometime between A.D. 29 (fifteenth year of Tiberius) and A.D. 220/221 (the latest approximate time at which his history was being used by Africanus). I think this sums up all we can really now say about Thallus.[11]

II

The question now arises: who was this Thallus? The answers to this question have made up in fertility what they have often lacked in substance. One answer, however, has outmatched all others in the favor with which it has been received. It is our purpose now to investigate the claims made in its behalf.

It would appear that this Thallus may be [12] the earliest non-

[8] The usual accuracy of historical quotation in Eusebius cannot help us here since we must here rely on the Armenian version; see Karst, op. cit., Prologomena and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, V (London, 1933), 471 ff.; cf. A. K. I. Schoene, Die Weltchronik des Eusebius (Berlin, 1900).

[9] Note that Thallus is among those who have dealt carefully with the Olympiads (see note 2 above); cf. M. Goguel, Life of Jesus (Engl. transl., New York, 1933), 92.

[10] For attempts to emend the corrupt numbers see Müller, F. H. G., loc. cit.; R. Eisler, *Ἰησοῦς βασιλεὺς οὐ βασίλευσας*, II (Heidelberg, 1930), 140–141 and Goguel, Rev. Hist. des Religions, XCVIII (1928), 1 ff.

[11] Here, briefly, are some of the things others have been able to find out about Thallus (based on the same data!). Christ, Gesch. d. Griech. Litteratur, II, 1 (1911), 319: "vermutlich hellenisierter Jude"; but see the next edition (1920), 415: "vermutlich hellenisierter Jude (Samaritaner? s. unten II[5], 448. 3)" — this latter note duplicates II, 1 (1920), 591, n. 4! Täubler, Rhein. Mus., LXXI (1916), 572, suggests Thallus was the secretary of Augustus (Suet., August., 67); cf. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserl. Verwaltungsbeamten, 2nd ed., 324, n. 1. Willrich, Klio, III (1903), 106, n. 1, equates him with C. Julius Thallus (a freedman of Caligula?), cf. Hirschfeld, op. cit., 181, n. 3. He suggests that the freedman of Antonius (in Prosop. Rom., III, 309) is out of the question since he is a poet and not, therefore, rich enough! — "so könnte man C. J. Thallus den Ephraim seiner Zeit nennen, wie Alexander den Rothschild." Thallus is thought to have been used by Vellius, so Christ, Philol. Stud. zu Clemens, 62; by Pseudolucian, *Μακρόβιοι*, so Rühl, Rhein. Mus., LXII (1907), 437, LXIV (1909), 137 ff., cf. Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa, loc. cit. With all these, and more, the skepticism of Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist., 2D, pp. 835 ff. is to be compared.

[12] Depending on how early we can place him within the dates established above, viz., A.D. 29–A.D. 220/221; cf. Schürer, loc. cit.

Christian author, of whom we have record, who has alluded to the actual gospel tradition — if not to the Synoptic Gospels themselves.[13] For Thallus refers (Africanus ap. Syncell.) to the darkness which occurred at the death of Jesus.[14] If Africanus is reporting accurately and in turn is reported accurately by Georgius Syncellus, it appears clear that Thallus interprets this darkness as a natural phenomenon, to which Africanus objects, on the ground that it was a miracle. The dispute is not whether there was a darkness [15] but about the nature of the darkness.

Now Schürer, op. cit., III, 3rd ed., 368–369 (4th ed., 407), suggests the identification of this Thallus with a freedman referred to (after emending the text!) in Josephus, Antiq. Iud., XVIII, vi, 4 (ed. Niese, 167).[16] This passage reads: *καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλος Σαμαρεὺς γένος Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος.*[17] Every editor of Josephus (except Niese) since Hudson in the eighteenth century has emended this passage to read: *καὶ γὰρ ἦν Θάλλος, κτλ.* or, as Naber, post Bekkerum, IV (1893), 166, *καὶ δὴ τις ἦν Θάλλος, κτλ.*[18] The manuscripts all read, with the exception of

[13] But see Guignebert, Jesus (Engl. transl., New York, 1935), 13, n. 1.

[14] See Mk., XV, 33 (cf. Luke, XXIII, 45) and Westcott and Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek, II (Cambridge and London, 1882), 69 ff.; cf. Eisler, op. cit., II, 138 ff. The significance of this passage was appreciated as early as Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, 2nd ed., II (Oxonii, 1846–48), 297 and 472.

[15] Had this been the question, the mere mention of it by a chronographer-historian such as Thallus would have given Africanus and other Christians valuable evidence in support of this particular tradition. Thus Euseb., Chron. (Karst, G. C. S. xx 213 = Migne, P. G. xix 535–536) uses the evidence of Phlegon of Sardis; cf. Origen, C. Celsum, II, 33, 59 (Koetschau, G. C. S., ii, 159–160, 182). This argument can be overstressed, as I think Goguel does in Life of Jesus, loc. cit. Thallus, after all, may have simply been acquainted with the account of the crucifixion currently held by the Christians and felt called upon to explain it "rationally."

[16] Goguel, op. cit., 92, stretches the meaning of Schürer's "so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich" into identification. He also claims the support of Christ, Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur, 4th ed. (1905), 705 who there says "vermutlich"; but in the 6th ed., II, 1 (1920), 415, n. 2, the identification is rejected: "beruht auf falscher Lesung von Ios. ant. Iud. XVIII 167." Eisler, loc. cit., gives statements, no proofs.

[17] Niese here exactly reproduces the *editio princeps*: ed. Arlenius (Basileae, 1544), 560.

[18] So far as I know, no editor previously had altered this passage. Thus, Opera (Aurel. Allobrog., 1611), 631, gives *ἄλλος* but translates with a proper name Allus! This is one example, at least several others are available, showing that the grammatical difficulty of *ἄλλος* was felt before the eighteenth century.

E (Epitome text),[19] ἄλλος Σαμαρεὺς, κτλ. Needless to say, practically every translator has rendered this passage: "For there was Thallus, the Samaritan, freedman of Tiberius." Any discussion of this passage must, therefore, start from the fact that it is not a question of what the extant manuscripts have (i.e. ἄλλος), but whether these manuscripts are corrupt or make sense at this point.

The prevalent assumption has been that the manuscripts are corrupt here; that ἄλλος is impossible Greek in its context;[20] so Täubler, Rhein. Mus., LXXI (1916), 573.[21] The assumptions that this passage is corrupt have not all led to the emended reading Thallus. It has been suggested [22] that the passage should be emended to read ἄνθρωπος Σαμαρεὺς, κτλ. Briefly, the author assumes that ἄνθρωπος was, in the original manuscripts, abbreviated to $\overline{\text{ANOC}}$ and that in the ensuing scribal transmission this was confounded into ΑΛΛΟC. In the original usage (there are no other examples of such usage in Josephus, as the

[19] E is only a summary of the full text. At this point it reads: καὶ δή τις ἦν Σαμαρεὺς γένος, κτλ.; see Niese's edition of E (Berlin, 1896). Goguel, op. cit., 93, n. 1 and I. Miévis, Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist., XIII (1934), 733 ff., esp. 734, n. 5 (I owe this reference to Dr. R. Marcus), state that E here is a correction intended to eliminate an obscure passage — for which motive they adduce no proof.

[20] The rise of the moral wrath against this corruption has a revealing history. The theme is nearly always the same, viz., a note explaining the emendation which reads: "Θαλλος Hudson ex Grutero, p. 599, n. 7." Actually, the Hudson edition (1720), 810 states "& pro ἄλλος ex conjectura reposui Θαλλος, quem inter Tiberii Augusti libertos fuisse constat ex Gruteri Inscriptionibus, p. DXCIX n. 7." In Gruter, Corpus Inscriptionum (Amst. 1707), Pag. DXCIX, n. 7, are two inscriptions which contain the name Thallus, of the Imperial house of Claudius. (For freedmen of Claudius see now V. Scramuzza, 'The Emperor Claudius,' Harvard Historical Studies, XLIV (Cambridge, 1940), 11 ff.) In the notes (of Graevius) there is the suggestion that, since not only Thallus but Hallus is found, this latter might be connected with Josephus, Antiq. Iud., XVIII, 8 "ubi tantum scribendum cum aspiratione ἅλλον." Thus, it is not the grammar of ἄλλος but the possible change in the initial aspirate marking! Gruter, loc. cit. = C. I. L., vi, 2, No. 8649. Curiously enough, the theme has become so stereotyped (or Gruter neglected?) that even Niese states: "Ex Grutero p. 599 n. 7 (C. I. L. vi 3 p 1761)" — where other Thallus inscriptions are listed but not Gruter's!

[21] Thus, e.g., besides all the editors of Josephus except Niese, Hirschfeld, op. cit., 181, n. 3; Gelzer, Sext. Jul. Africanus, II (1885), 96; Freudenthal, op. cit., I, 100 ff.; Wachsmuth, Einleitung (1895), 146 ff. and Goguel, op. cit., 92–93. Cf. Laqueur, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Thallos.

[22] I. Miévis, loc. cit.

author admits, op. cit., 739) at this passage ἄνθρωπος is essentially pejorative.

Now ἄνθρωπος Σαμαρεὺς is good Greek, I am ready to admit; it need not, of course, always be pejorative.[23] But, though it is hypothetically possible, there is no manuscript authority to support the change from ANOC to AΛΛOC.[24] The examples adduced by Miss Miévis are conjecture on the part of the editors,[25] which, as a matter of fact, can be interpreted in several ways.[26] There is, moreover, no uniformity in the manuscripts for the contraction of ἄνθρωπος.[27] Finally, it is extremely unlikely that such a contraction is to be expected in manuscripts of Josephus.[28] In any case, besides the fact that there is no manuscript evidence for the transcriptional change Miss Miévis suggests, it is not necessary.

[23] For examples of pejorative ἄνθρωπος see the new Liddell and Scott lexicon and in the profane papyri see Fr. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der Griech. Papyrusurkunde, I (Berlin, 1925).

[24] There is no evidence that such a change has ever taken place in the available manuscripts. Such a change is, besides, not the only possible one; cf. Hall, Companion to Classical Texts (Oxford, 1913), 158 ff. and F. J. Bast, Commentatio Paleographica appended to G. H. Schaeffer's edition of Gregorius Corinthius (Leipzig, 1811). Taking the letters individually it is not even the most likely change. For the literature on this subject see Weinberger, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Kurzschrift.

[25] Ἄνθρωπος is one of the *nomina sacra*, for which see Traube, 'Nomina Sacra,' Quellen u. Untersuchungen z. latein. Philol. d. Mittelalters, II (München, 1907) to which Gardthausen, Griech. Paleogr., II (1913), 326 ff. adds nothing. Cf. C. H. Roberts, Two Biblical Papyri in John Ryland's Library (Manchester, 1936), 44, n. 27. For the Beatty collection see Kenyon, 'Nomina Sacra,' Aegyptus, XIII (1933), 5 ff. and Rudberg, 'De Nominibus sacris adnotatiunculae,' Eranos, XXXIII (1935), 147 ff. (these last references I owe to Mr. Youtie).

[26] Thus Niese, Antiq. Iud., XVIII, 118: "τῶν ἄλλων: ex corr. A periplurima multitudo Lat ἀνθρώπων coni."

[27] Thus, at random:

> Papyrus [22] (Oxyrhynchus Pap. 1228): ἄνθρωπος = $\overline{\text{ANC}}$; so also Papyrus [20] (Princeton Univ. Library A. M. 4117; Papyrus [47] (Chester Beatty Pap. III): ἀνθρώπων = $\overline{\text{AΘN}}$; Codex Alexandrinus in MK., XX, 33: AN$\overline{\text{OY}}$; MK., XI, 3: $\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{ΩN}}$.

[28] The system of contraction extended scarcely at all outside Christian literature in Greek paleography and in manuscripts of general literature. Where there was any abbreviation the system of suspension prevailed; see e.g., E. M. Thompson, Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography (Oxford, 1912), 75 ff. The evidence is not convincing that ἄνθρωπος was contracted when it was not clearly one of the known (and strictly limited in number) *nomina sacra*.

I do not think the text is corrupt. It is not necessary to alter ἄλλος in order to save either the Greek or the sense. Ἄλλος, which is supported by all the manuscripts except E (this has simply Σαμαρεὺς), is, in my opinion, perfectly sound. Greek idiom, *pace* Goguel, Schürer, et al., does not demand that ἄλλος answer directly to a preceding person or object of exactly the same kind.[29] One need not assume, as is done expressly or otherwise by all emenders of this passage, that ἄλλος means "besides" (here, in the sense that some other Samaritan should have antecedently been mentioned) — except in direct enumeration after something that has been specified, "besides" which something else is named. This rule, so far as I know, is never violated.[30] The idiomatic usage here shows the original meaning and declension of ἄλλος as a pronoun, not an adjective.[31] Numerous examples survive, indeed, where an adjective is actually added to define the pronoun. A classic example is Hdt., VI, 129, 4: ὠρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά "He danced Spartan figures and then others, namely Attic," i.e., "and then Attic as well," cf. Hdt., V, 32, 5 (ed. Macan, I, 176) and Xenophon, Hell., II, 4, 9: ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας.

It appears that ἄλλος often keeps this original pronominal force; thus Thuc., VII, 61, 1: ἔνδρες στρατιῶται Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, see ed. Poppo, Pars III, Commentarii (Leipzig, 1838), 534. It is, in fact, a relatively common usage in Thucydides [32] which may be significant when one bears in mind

[29] Kühner-Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik, II, 1 (1898), 275, Anmerk., 1; cf. Wacknernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax, 2nd ed., II (Basel, 1928), 97 ff. It is to be noted (1) that this particular Samaritan is not elsewhere mentioned by name or otherwise (2) that Josephus is not averse to introducing into his narrative individuals who have not been specifically named.

[30] Thus, one might say: καὶ γὰρ ἦν Θάλλος καὶ ἄλλος Σαμαρεύς "There was Thallus, and a Samaritan besides." In this statement γένος would be gratuitous.

[31] See Brugmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 2nd ed., II, 2 (Strassburg, 1911), 358; cf. Brugmann, Griech. Grammatik (München, 1913), 281 and now E. Schwyzer, Griech. Grammatik (München, 1939), 614. Professor Whatmough has kindly pointed out to me, by letter, that the original declension as a pronoun survives in Sanscrit and Gothic as well as in Greek and Latin (*aliud*, like *id*, *istud*, not *alium*, neut. sg. nom. and acc.). Cf. C. D. Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin (Chicago, 1933), 142.

[32] As elsewhere: so listed, e.g., in Powell, Lexicon to Herodotus (Cambridge, 1938),

the writer of the eighteenth book of the Antiquities. This particular book, probably more than any of the others, shows unmistakable evidence of Thucydidean influence. It does not appear to be the work of Josephus at all; it is the work of an assistant who is steeped in Thucydidean style.[33]

This "idiomatic" usage would appear to be essentially of pleonastic force ("appositive," so Gildersleeve, loc. cit.) and as such is well attested in later papyri; see Mayser, Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, II, 2 (Berlin, 1934), 87 ff.

If this text is sound, and I think it is, then ἄλλος is to be understood in this pronominal sense. It cannot mean "Now there was a Samaritan besides . . . ," nor can it mean "Now there was another Samaritan by race . . . ," nor can it possibly mean "Now there was also a Samaritan by race . . ." which (with "by race") is beside the point in English as in the Greek (with γένος), when ἄλλος is understood to mean "also." [34]

It would seem, therefore, that the important and difficult words for the understanding of the passage as a whole are Σαμαρεὺς γένος. Apparently the author did not wish to use the simpler word Σαμαρείτης which had been used previously, e.g., Antiq. Iud., XVIII, ii, 2 (ed. Niese, 30): ἄνδρες Σαμαρεῖται.[35] It is probable that he wished to avoid the connotation of Samaritan as the name of a religious body. For this there are precedents in Josephus; e.g., Antiq. Iud., XVIII, iv, 1 (ed. Niese, 85): καὶ τὸ Σαμαρέων ἔθνος; cf. De Bello Iud., I, ii, 6 (ed. Niese, 63): Χουθαίων γένος.[36] This is a grammatically sound way of avoiding such connotation.[37] The two words are to be taken, literally together, in a geographical sense.

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15. See Gildersleeve, Syntax of Classical Greek, II (New York, 1911), 599; cf. Goodwin, Greek Grammar (1892), 966. For the Thucydidean passage cited above, and others, see the *editio altera* of Stahl, IV, 1 (Leipzig, 1882), 140.

[33] "That this Thucydidean is thus responsible for writing practically the whole of books XVII–XIX appears unquestionable: his speech bewrays him," H. St. John Thackeray, Josephus, the Man and his Work (New York, 1929), 113.

[34] But see below.

[35] Whether this is another of the "Thucydidean" assistant's examples of "periphrasis" (Thackeray, loc. cit.) is an interesting, but at present insoluble, problem.

[36] Sometimes the Latin is even more exact; cf. Antiq. Iud., XVIII, iv, 2 (ed. Niese, 88): *samareorum gente*, and, for the passage under examination, *quidam genere samareus*.

[37] Cf. the Clementines, Hom., II, 19 ff., and Rec., II, 7 ff.: Σαμαρεὺς τὸ ἔθνος (*gente*

With this in mind, and the pronominal ἄλλος, the passage can best, if not only, be properly understood when it is punctuated: καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλος, Σαμαρεὺς γένος, Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος and translated "Now there was another, namely a Samaritan by race (birth), a freedman of Caesar." This makes quite sound Greek and good sense.[38] It conforms, also, to the Latin version (quoted in Niese's edition, loc. cit.) with ἄλλος pronominal, "another one," *quidam*, "a certain man." [39] The fact that E has τις supports, in my opinion, the reading ἄλλος against Θάλλος, since ἄλλος is hardly more vague than τις, which conforms to the sense of *quidam*.

In conclusion: our actual knowledge of Thallus is still quite limited to the references of the Church Fathers. He may be one of several men whose name we know was Thallus and about whom we have scanty information (see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Thallos). But there does not seem to be any valid reason to find a reference to a Thallus at Josephus, Antiq. Iud., XVIII, 167. To do so it is necessary to build on a foundation that is conjectural (at least until a convincing historical demonstration can be made) and without textual authority or grammatical warrant.

Samareus) and Justin, Dial. cum Tryph., 120 (cf. Apol., II, 15) where the inhabitants of the district of Samaria are meant, not the Samaritans as a religious sect. See G. F. Moore, Judaism, I (Cambridge, 1927), 24, n. 5. For this problem see J. J. Wetstein's note at Matt., X, 5 in his Novum Testamentum (Amst. 1751); cf. Beer, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Samaria; E. Meyer, Ursprung u. Anfänge, III (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1933), 277; and R. Casey in Beginnings of Christianity, V, 151 ff.

[38] This punctuation and translation have the able confirmation of Professors Whatmough and Lake, and Mr. Youtie. The context of this passage implies that Agrippa has raised a sum of money in one direction and now borrows another sum with which to pay off the former from another source, viz., a certain Imperial freedman who happened to be a Samaritan. It is wishful thinking to translate the last phrase, as so many do, "freedman of Tiberius." The Greek does not say "Tiberius." Curiously enough, at least two of the older translations were not misled by this passage. See Sir Roger L'Estrange, Works of F. Josephus (London, 1725), 492: "There was at that time a freeman of Cesar's, a Samaritan" and B. Thompson & W. C. Price, Whole Works of Josephus (London, 1795), 337: "At this period a Samaritan, one of Caesar's freedmen."

[39] The Latin reads: *erat ibi forte quidam genere Samareus, libertos Caesaris*; so Opera, ed. J. Sobius (1524). Note that this considerably antedates the *editio princeps* in Greek.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF THE SEVEN CARDINAL SINS

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Since the work of Zielinski [1] and Gothein [2] in the early years of this century,[3] it has been clear that the medieval and modern Catholic teaching of the seven cardinal sins, sometimes called the deadly sins, had a Hellenistic astrological origin. The details of that provenance, however, are still vague, and it is my purpose to add some further information tending to clarify the complex problems of origins. The material here presented will strengthen what must be a nebulous, though very probable, hypothesis. The problem, however, is not so much to show the exact origin of the concept, as it is to refute certain misleading orthodox theories of origin.

The hypothesis states that certain Egyptian Christian ascetics of the fourth century or earlier took over from heretical and pagan religions a list of seven or eight sins which were considered the chief sins and purged them of their unorthodox associations. These sins had been linked with the seven planets and the aerial demons inhabiting them. Many Hellenistic sects believed that the soul, after death, had to journey through the seven zones of heaven,[4] while the aerial spirits, sometimes seven,

[1] See 'Hermes und die Hermetik,' Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. VIII (1905), 321 ff.; 'Marginalien,' II, Philologus, LXIV (1905), 21 and 'Die sieben Todsünden,' Süddeutsche Monatshefte, Zweiter Jahrgang, Zweiter Band (1905), 437–442 (a popular exposition).

[2] AR., X (1907), 416–484.

[3] Both had taken up a suggestion of R. Reitzenstein made in his Poimandres, Leipzig, 1904, p. 232, note 2, that a form of the Soul Journey was the root of the Catholic seven cardinal sins. See below, reference No. 3. A. Bouché-Leclerq, L'Astrologie Grecque, Paris, 1899, p. 324, note 1, had earlier mentioned a possible astrological origin for the concept, without giving any details. He made the remark while discussing the Hellenistic division of the body into seven internal members and seven external organs. See, also, F. Boll, 'Die Lebensalter,' Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur, XXXI (1913), pp. 89–154, esp. pp. 118 ff.

[4] See G. Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion, Oxford, 1925, pp. 179–180 and W. R. Halliday, The Pagan Background of Early Christianity, London, 1925, p. 226.

sometimes not, and variously called ἄρχοντες, κοσμοκράτορες or τελώνια attempted to hinder its passage.[5] This belief appears in many forms in the mysteries, Hermetic religion and Christian Gnostic[6] sects, and has survived in modern Levantine superstitions,[7] but only in some of them can we find antecedents for our concept. The *post-mortem* journey, called by Bousset the Soul Journey, may have been represented symbolically in the rites of some of these religions, sometimes with the discarding of clothing as in the Ishtar story.[8] The journey was based on the cosmology of the time; it was scientific.

Although the question of origin is irrelevant to our purpose, Persia may have been the ultimate home of the Soul Journey. Reitzenstein suggests that a representation of the Soul Journey (which he calls the Soul Drama) is the basic concept of the Persian folk-religion which passed to the west through Babylon into various religions,[9] picking up certain Chaldean beliefs on the way. On the other hand, its origin may be less elaborate.

Perhaps it will be well to list again the most relevant passages as noted by earlier scholars in connection with the seven cardi-

[5] For a complete study of this belief see W. Bousset, 'Die Himmelreise der Seele,' AR., IV (1901), 136–169; 229–273. See, also, F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, New Haven, 1922, pp. 148 ff., C. H. Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man (Columbia University Oriental Studies XXI), New York, 1927, 189, 129 ff. et passim, and E. Schürer, 'Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte,' ZNW, VI (1905), 63 ff. and esp. 65 n. 1.

[6] I use the word "gnostic" for convenience rather than with any precise meaning. See, e.g., Hippolytus, The Refutation of all Heresies, trans. J. H. MacMahon (Ante-Nicene Christian Library VI), Edinburgh, 1911, I, p. 134 (Book V, §§ 1 ff.), and Albrecht Dieterich, Abraxas, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 45 ff.

[7] For modern Greek survivals of τελώνια and a brief history of the word, see K. Dieterich, 'Hellenistische Volksreligion und byzantinisch-neugriechischer Volksglaube,' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, I (1925), 17 ff. See also W. W. Hyde, Greek Religion and Its Survivals, Boston, 1923, p. 162, K. Krumbacher, Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter, Munich, 1893, pp. 170–171 and C. M. Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta, Cambridge, 1888, I, 259 (for a modern Arabic survival).

The ancient Mandaeans also used the Soul Journey in religious rites, a usage which has survived into modern times, see E. S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, Oxford, 1937, pp. 197 ff. The Mandaean version is very close to the ancestor of our concept. See, also, ibid., pp. 365–366, 256 and 307–308.

[8] See, e.g., K. Dieterich, op. cit., p. 17. For the Ishtar story, see Bruno Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, Heidelberg, 1925, II, pp. 183 ff.

[9] Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, Bonn, 1921. Bousset also believes in a Persian origin.

nal sins. The references which follow are arranged chronologically as far as it is possible to determine dates.

1. The Old Testament pseudepigraph, Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Testament of Reuben, II lists seven spirits of deceit, πορνεία (fornication), γαστριμαργία (gluttony), μάχη (fighting), κενοδοξία (vain-glory), ὑπερηφανία (pride), ψεῦδος (lying), and ἀδικία (injustice).[10] There is a remarkable coincidence in this list with that which appears in the works of Evagrius of Pontus (†c. 400), the first orthodox Christian writer to use the scheme. There are no pronounced astrological elements in this reference. Date, 109–106 B.C. (This part may be later.)

2. Fervet *avaritia* miseroque *cupidine* pectus?
Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula, quae te
Ter, pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit
Si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.

(Horace, Epist. I, 1, 33–40; my italics.)[11] Date, c. 20 B.C.

3. And thereupon the man mounts upward through the structure of the heavens. And to the first zone of heaven (Moon) he gives up the force which works increase and that which works decrease; to the second zone (Mercury), the machinations of evil cunning; to the third zone (Venus), the lust whereby men are deceived; to the fourth zone (Sun), domineering arrogance; to the fifth zone (Mars), unholy daring and rash audacity; to the sixth zone (Jupiter), evil strivings after wealth; and to the seventh zone (Saturn), the falsehood which lies in wait to work harm.

   And thereupon, having been stripped of all that was wrought upon him by the structure of the heavens, he ascends to the substance of the eighth sphere, being now possessed of his own proper power; and he sings, together with those who dwell there, hymning the father. . . . (Corpus Hermeticum, I (Poimandres), 25 26, ed. and tr. W. Scott, I, 128 ff.) Date, 1st Century A.D. (?)[12]

4. Corpus Hermeticum, Lib. XIII, 7b ff., lists twelve torments, some of which are similar to the Christian scheme. There are driven out by ten powers. The text is very corrupt and confusing at this spot; both seven and ten are referred to. Date, same.[13]

[10] See R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Oxford, 1913, II, 282 ff.

[11] There is here almost a complete correspondence with the Church doctrine, especially with that of Gregory the Great who reduced the number of sins to seven from the original eight. If we place *laudis amore* first, we even get his order. The actual terms, however, are not always the same.

[12] On the question of the date of the Hermetic writings, see Scott, op. cit., Oxford, 1924–36, I, 9.

[13] The number twelve is based upon a supposed connection with the signs of the

5. Mathematici fingunt quod singulorum numinum potestatibus corpus et anima conexa sunt ea ratione, quia cum descendunt animae, trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, Veneris libidinem, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium. (Servius on Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 714.)[14] Date, end of fourth century, A.D.

It will be noted that none of the above references are Christian. Zöckler [15] and Gothein give many early Christian discussions of sin and sin-listing, but none of them offer any connection with astrology. In the course of a not too exhaustive examination of early Christian (pre-Evagrian) literature, I have uncovered several allusions,[16] corroborating by the use of terms and the aerial nature of the sins, the astrological theory of origin and providing the link between unorthodox and orthodox religion. Unfortunately, none of the following show any planetary associations.[17] The case must rest largely on the use of the word

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Zodiac. Competing with the conception of seven evil planetary spirits was a similar zodiacal arrangement. Twelve, however, did not prevail. It was Egyptian in origin, as opposed to the Persian or Babylonian seven. See W. Scott, op. cit., II, 384 ff., R. Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 157 ff. and K. Dieterich, op. cit., pp. 5, 6 and 16.

[14] Ed. Thilo and Hagen II (1884), 98. Servius' list, as far as it goes, corresponds closely to the Christian one.

[15] Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden (Biblische und Kirchenhistorische Studien), Munich, 1893, is the best general treatment of the history of our concept, although the author is unaware of the astrological theory of origin. Zöckler has also treated the subject more briefly in both Die Tugendlehre des Christentums, Gütersloh, 1904 and Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in encyklopädischer Darstellung, Nördlingen, 1885–1886, III, 114 ff. et passim.

[16] Some of the allusions were suggested to me by a reading of Louise Dudley's The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul, Baltimore, 1911. The author uses the references for a different purpose.

[17] Professor A. D. Nock, in a letter to me, suggests that there is little in the following selections to suggest a Soul Journey of any kind, and that the demons can be explained by the "really well attested Iranian concept that the soul after death is met by a supernatural being impersonating its good or evil deeds and respectively appearing as a fair young maiden or an old hag." Without denying the possibility of this influence, it seems to me that, taken in conjunction with quotations 3 and 5 above and Bousset's parallels, some kind of Soul Journey is at the basis of the concept. We could hardly expect Christian writers to use pagan concepts without some cutting, and the planetary associations were especially frowned on. The use of words like τελώνια and ἄρχοντες also seem to support my position. There is no doubt that the evidence is not as strong as one would wish. On the church's attitude to astrology, see T. O. Wedel, The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology (Yale Studies in English LX), New Haven, 1920, and L. C. F. J. de Vreese, Augustinus en de Astrologie, Maastricht, 1933.

τελώνια which then, as now in modern folk-lore, probably had planetary implications.

Origen writes in a homily:

> Venit enim ad unamquamque animam de hoc mundo exeuntem princeps huius mundi; et aereae potestates, et requirunt si inveniant in ea aliquid suum; si *avaritiam* invenerint, suae partis est; si *iram*, si *luxuriam*, si *invidiam*, et singula quaeque eorum similia si invenerint, suae partis est, et sibi eam defendunt, et ad se eam trahunt, et ad partem eam peccatorum declinant. (My italics.)[18]

It is too bad that Origen is so cryptic, but enough is given to show us that he knew of the *aereae potestates* who would claim as their own the sinner of a particular sin; [19] and the four that are named are all cardinal sins. Three of the seven vices are, of course, lacking, but the basic concept is linked here closely with the sins and gives an interesting parallel to the Horace and Servius quotations given above.

Cyril of Alexandria, in a homily, conceives the sins as clustered at five *telonia* which the soul on its ascent to heaven must traverse.[20] There are gates for each of the five senses, and at each gate appropriate sins gather. Some of them are similar to the later lists of cardinal sins, but the selection, as well as the one below, is of value chiefly in showing the world view of the time and the common belief in sins as aerial demons and in guardians of the heavenly gates as reflected in a Christian writer.

St. Macarius, the Egyptian who was one of Evagrius's masters, says in Homily XLIII:

> Like tax-collectors (τελῶναι) sitting in the narrow ways, and laying hold upon the passers-by, and extorting from them, so do the devils spy upon souls, and lay hold of them; and when they pass out of the body, if they are not perfectly cleansed, they do not suffer them to mount up to the mansions of heaven and to meet their Lord, and they are driven down by the devils of the air.[21]

[18] Homily V in Psalmum XXXVI (Migne, PG., 12, 1366).

[19] Cf. Exod. Homil. VIII, 46 where Origen uses Luke XI as the basis of his contention that the sins are devils.

[20] Migne, PG., 77, 1074–75.

[21] A. J. Mason, Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian (Translations of Christian Literature, Series I, Greek Texts), London, 1921, p. 274. For the original, see Migne, PG., 34, 777.

There is another reference to the *telonia*, each of which is connected with a sin, in a vision of the same Abbot Macarius, where unfortunately only one sin is named (*fornicatio*).[22] In the Vita Sancti Joannis Eleemosynarii, of the Vitae Patrum, a revelation to Saint Simeon "qui in columnis stetit" is recorded.

> Quia (ut ait) exeunte anima e corpore, obviant ei cum ascenderit a terra in coelum, chori daemonum, singuli in proprio ordine. Obviat ei chorus daemoniorum superbiae, investigat eam, si habeat opera eorum. Obviat chorus spiritum detractionis: aspiciunt si quando oblocuta sit, et poenitentiam non egerit. Obviat iterum superius daemones fornicationis: scrutantur si recognoscant in ea voluptates. . . .

A little further on, other sins are added. Altogether, three sins, *fornicatio*, *superbia* and *avaritia* correspond to the later cardinal sin list. Then St. Hilary's address to his soul is quoted to the effect that God will guard our souls, to encourage the living who yet must face this experience.[23]

In Abba Isaias' work, there is mention of *inanis gloria*, *superbia*, *invidia*, *cupiditas* and *ira* in connection with seven demons.[24] The Coptic Gnostic and Christian remains available to me afford no direct reference to the seven chief sins, but it is clear that the concept of the aerial demons hindering the soul and of the seven guardians was well-known.[25]

The cardinal sins may, therefore, be conceived as a heterodox or even pagan list taken over by Christianity and purged of its unsatisfactory elements.[26] The general view of evil aerial

[22] Migne, PG., 34, 223–226.

[23] Migne, PL., 73, 374–375.

[24] Or. XVI, PG., 40, 1143. Cf. C. H. G. von Zezschwitz, System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik, Leipzig, 1863, II, 209 ff.

[25] See E. A. Wallis Budge, Coptic Homilies, London, 1910, p. 214, Miscellaneous Coptic Texts, London, 1915, pp. 726–727 and 733, Coptic Apocrypha, London, 1913, pp. 185–186 and Coptic Martyrdoms, London, 1914, pp. 340 and 421. Also see the Apocryphal Life of Joseph the Carpenter, ed. F. Robinson, Coptic Apocryphal Gospels (Texts and Studies IV, 2, Cambridge [1896]), pp. 130 ff., esp. pp. 139 ff.

[26] The Church was not completely successful in purging the seven cardinal sins of their astrological origin, for surprisingly enough, beginning in the fourteenth century, the planets are linked to the sins more distinctly than ever before in Christian literature. In fact, the best examples come from this time. Where the association existed in the interval, unless it be an accidental rewelding or in Arabic astrological lore, I cannot guess. M. Gothein suggests it existed in the interval among the folk along with black magic and unreported in literature. See, e.g., the Miracle-Morality Mary

powers was supported by the cosmology of the age and accepted by St. Paul [27] and early Christian writers. The origins of the cardinal sins are not to be sought, as some have tried, either in Greek philosophy and speculation [28] or in the Judaism of the time or earlier.[29] Also, the sins were originally independent of such concepts as penance, and it is only later in the seventh and eighth centuries, at first in the Celtic penitentials, that they were used for penitential classification. Even later they were used in questioning at the confessional. Penance provided the meeting-place for the cardinal sins and the genuinely Judeo-Christian concept of the deadly sin,[30] which had not been standardized in a list of vices. As a result, the chief sins were generally, in the later Middle Ages, considered mortal. Some theologians maintained a distinction, and Dante in the Divine Comedy uses the cardinal sins only in the Purgatorio, not in the Inferno, where one unacquainted with the distinction might expect to find them.

The Egyptian Christian ascetics chose such a list in order to deal conveniently with their chief desert enemies, the demons Satan sent against them. It was not divorced from its monastic origins until the time of Gregory the Great and even later. The

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Magdalen (EETS. e.s. 70 and 71, pp. 53–136), the Elizabethan Lyly's The Woman in the Moon, and 'Templum Domini,' ll. 569 ff., printed in R. D. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle, Bryn Mawr, 1930, pp. 106–107.

[27] See 2 Corinthians XII, 2 ff., Ephesians VI, 11–17, IV, 8, etc.

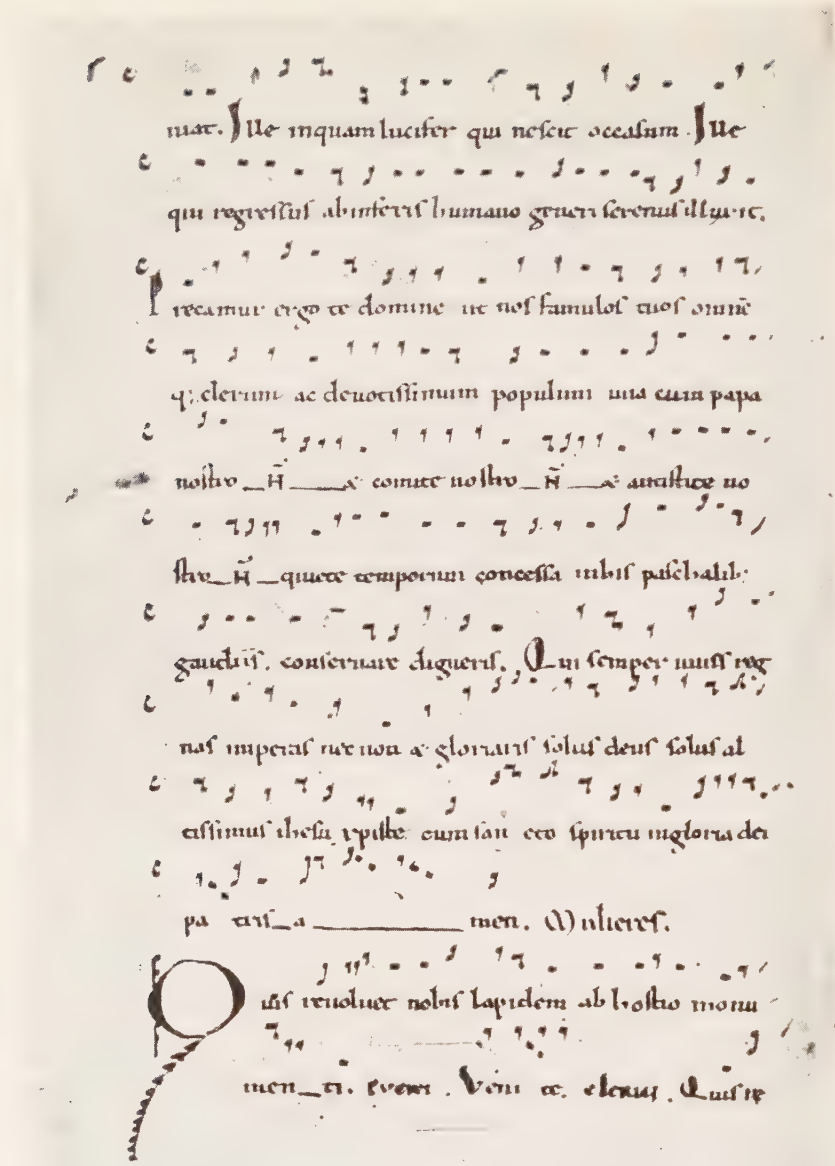
[28] As Zöckler, op. cit., and S. Schiwietz, Das morgenländische Mönchtum, Mainz, II, 1913, 72 ff. do.

[29] As in the Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, ed. Vacant, Mangenot and Amann, Tome II, Deuxième Partie, 168a.

[30] The deadly sins were those sins which the rabbis and early Church Fathers felt led to damnation. They are usually based on the ten commandments. There are numerous references to them in Jewish and Christian writings of the age, but they must not be confused with the cardinal or chief sins at this early date. See e.g., Acts XV, 20, 2 Timothy III, 2 ff., Matthew XV, 19 and 1 John V, 16 (the theoretical point of departure for the Fathers on the subject). Zöckler gives numerous references to the deadly sins in the Fathers, although he does not make the distinction as I do. For Jewish references, see the Midrash Rabbah on Ecclesiastes, Midrash Rabbah, trans. Freedman and Simon, London, 1939, VIII, pp. 40 and 84 and 85, The Book of Jubilees, VII, 20–21, ed. Charles in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, II, 24 and A. Büchler, Studies in Sin and Atonement (Jews' College Publications No. 11 (1928)), London, and G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, II, 248.

sins [31] first appear, however, in the work of Evagrius of Pontus (†c. 400) as a single concept, with an ancient and complex background.

[31] For convenience in comparing, I here add Evagrius' list which was somewhat modified by later theologians. As found in his Περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν πρὸς Ἀνατόλιον, (Migne, PG., 40, 1271 ff.), it runs: γαστριμαργία (*gula*), πορνεία (*luxuria*), φιλαργυρία (*avaritia*), λύπη (*tristitia*), ὀργή (*ira*), ἀκηδία (*acedia*), κενοδοξία (*vana gloria*) and ὑπερηφανία (*superbia*).



Madrid, Bibl. Nat. lat. 289 (153) f. 115^{v}

A NORMAN FINALE OF THE EXULTET AND THE RITE OF SARUM

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The peculiarities of the Exultet in the South-Italian Church have often been the subject of scholarly investigation. Quite recently, several new studies [1] have been devoted to this famous and indeed very beautiful liturgical prose hymn which was sung on the Saturday of Holy Week. Among these peculiarities, the practice, for example, of writing the hymn on a long scroll and of embellishing the text with illuminations was observed nowhere but in Southern Italy. This scroll, as is well known, was intended to fall more and more over the ambo so that, as the archdeacon sang the text, the congregation could at the same time gaze at the illustrations to the respective parts of the prayer. Word and illustration thus supported each other in a singular way.

These interesting and often very fine illuminations have particularly attracted the attention of scholars. However, not only the illustrations but the text of this hymn displayed peculiarities in the South-Italian Church. Thirty years ago, H. M. Bannister pointed out that, up to the late eleventh century, a South-Italian drafting of the Exultet was known which differed considerably from the official text of the Ordo Romanus.[2]

[1] See the very brilliant and learned book by Myrtilla Avery, The Exultet Rolls of South Italy (Princeton-London-The Hague, 1936). Further: Gerhart Ladner, 'Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert,' in Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, Neue Folge V (Vienna, 1931), 122 ff.; Th. Klauser, 'Eine rätselhafte Exultet-Illustration aus Gaeta,' in Corolla Ludwig Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag (Stuttgart, 1937), 168 ff.; F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, vol. XIII, 2 (Paris, 1938), coll. 1559 ff. See also: Adolf Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter, II (Freiburg, 1909), 517 ff.; L. Duchesne, Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution (5th edition, London, 1923), 254 ff., 537 ff.; B. Ebel, 'Zum Verständnis des Exultet,' in Liturgische Zeitschrift, Heft 6/7 (Regensburg, 1930/31), 165 ff. was not available to me.

[2] H. M. Bannister, 'The vetus Itala text of the Exultet,' in The Journal of Theological Studies XI (Oxford, 1910), 43–54.

Bannister called it the Vetus Itala and this name has been generally adopted.[3]

Another drafting of the South-Italian Exultet text seems to have escaped the notice of scholars. From the twelfth century, that is to say shortly after the Vetus Itala went out of use, there has survived a finale of the Exultet — or rather a finale of the prayer for the ruler that concludes the hymn — which differs not inconsiderably from both the Vetus Itala and the official Vulgata text of the Missale Romanum. In the Roman missals, the finale showed the following text: [4]

Precamur ergo te Domine, ut nos famulos tuos . . . quiete temporum concessa, in his paschalibus gaudiis, assidua protectione regere, gubernare et conservare digneris. . . . Per eumdem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in universitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

The Vetus Itala, following a different text altogether, showed the variant: [5]

Qui vivis cum patre et spiritu sancto et regnas unus Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.

Quite different from either of these is a third text to which I wish to draw attention:

Precamur ergo te Domine, ut nos famulos tuos . . . quiete temporum concessa in his paschalibus gaudiis, conservare digneris, Qui semper vivis, regnas, imperas necnon et gloriaris solus Deus solus altissimus, Jhesu Christe, cum sancto spiritu in gloria Dei patris. Amen.

This third version is not to be found earlier than the twelfth century, in Southern Italy or elsewhere. It seems that this finale of the *praeconium* does not appear in any of the many eleventh century manuscripts or Exultet Rolls. The oldest manuscript known to me, which reveals this text, is a *troparium* from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. It was written earlier than 1130, before Roger II had been crowned King of Sicily, because the prayer for the ruler mentions a *comes N.*[6] but not

[3] Cf. Cabrol-Leclercq, loc. cit.

[4] See on this finale Bernold of Constance, 'Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus c. 6,' in Migne, Patr. Lat. 151, col. 981.

[5] Bannister, loc. cit.

[6] Madrid, Bibl. Nac. ms. lat. 289 (153), fol. 115^{v}; cf. Karl Young, 'Some texts of liturgical plays,' in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXIV

the king. Next comes a Sicilian, or at least South-Italian, gradual that has shared the fate of innumerable other Sicilian manuscripts in having been brought to Spain by the Aragonese;[7] it was written after 1130, because the *praeconium*, while omitting the names of pope and bishop, includes the name of *Rex Rogerius*.[8] There follows the well-known twelfth century Missale Gallicum of the Cathedral of Palermo; [9] further, two twelfth century manuscripts originating from the Cathedral of Troia. One of these manuscripts, an Exultet Roll, is still at Troia [10] and its text tallies with that of a Troia processional in Naples.[11] Finally, I found the text in a beautiful twelfth century missal in the Morgan Library in New York, the provenance of which is as yet not satisfactorily determined.[12] Thus there are altogether six examples of the third Exultet finale; all of them drawn from twelfth century manuscripts. A systematic inspection of South-Italian manuscripts of that period would undoubtedly reveal very much richer material on this subject than I am able to offer. However, the instances here adduced are enough to justify discussion of some of the main features of the problem.

(Baltimore, 1909), 325 ff. I am greatly indebted to my former pupil, Dr. Angel Ferrari Nuñez of Madrid, who generously provided me with photostats of Madrid mss. before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

[7] On the abundance of Sicilian mss. in Madrid see, for instance, Martin de la Torre y Pedro Longas, Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Biblioteca Nacional, I (Madrid, 1935); the second volume containing the liturgical mss. has not been published.

[8] Madrid, Bibl. Nac. ms. lat. 132, fol. 99^{v}; cf. L. Delisle, 'Un livre de choeur normano-sicilien conservé en Espagne,' in Journal des Savants, VI (1908), 42–49.

[9] Palermo, Cathedral ms. 544; cf. Giovanni di Giovanni, De divinis Siculorum officiis tractatus (Palermo, 1736), 267; on the Gallican rite in Palermo see La Mantia, 'Ordines iudiciorum Dei' nel missale Gallicano del XII secolo (Palermo-Torino, 1892).

[10] Cf. Myrtilla Avery, op. cit., pl. CLXXXV; on the Troian Exultet Rolls see also Whitehall, in Speculum II (1927), 80 ff.; on other Troian mss. see the most recent study of Miss Avery, 'A Manuscript from Troia: Naples VI. B. 2,' Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 153–164.

[11] Naples, Bibl. Naz. ms. lat. VI. G. 34, fol. 82. The ms. is mentioned in Analecta Hymnica, vol. XLVII, p. 25, No. 105. In the ruler's prayer, a "gloriosissimus rex noster ill." is quoted, so that the ms. must have been written in about the middle of the 12th century; this is also suggested by the script. For the provenance from Troia see fol. 136, "Horum festa plebs troiana colat et apulia."

[12] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library ms. 379, fol. 111. On the interesting ms. see my discussion in a forthcoming book, Laudes regiae. Studies in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Cult (Berkeley, 1941), Append. II.

To begin with, the text of the finale is in itself of some interest. Admittedly, it shares with the Vetus Itala the opening *Qui vivis*, whereas the Roman missal reads *Per eumdem Dominum nostrum*, etc. But either opening is so common that this does not mean very much. Another feature is more arresting, the amplification *qui semper vivis, regnas, imperas necnon et gloriaris* of the third version. Through the kindness of Professor George La Piana my attention was called to the fact that this amplification might have something to do with an amplification in the Roman missal. The Roman missal as well as the Sicilian version follow, in general, the pattern of the old sacramentaries. The Sicilian form, it is true, shows an amplified finale, but in other parts of the hymn it follows almost verbatim the text of the sacramentaries and displays the original form also in the short prayer of intercession which immediately precedes the finale ("Precamur ergo ut . . . . . conservare digneris"). Exactly in this clause the Roman missal shows an amplification. In the rhetorically clumsy way which is so often a significant feature of Rome, the Missale adds two verbs referring to the Lord's rulership, so that the text reads, "Precamur ergo ut . . . . *regere, gubernare* et *conservare* digneris." Did the composer of the South-Italian finale try to compensate for the verbs of the Roman missal by adding *imperas necnon et gloriaris*, that is two other verbs referring to the rulership of Christ? This possibility should not be excluded; but this compensation is certainly not the whole story. For, compared with the ugly crypto-dualistic triad of *regere, gubernare et conservare*, the South-Italian liturgist has achieved his task with a remarkable rhetorical skill and understanding.

The two verbs added in the South-Italian finale represent very old doxological elements; they are not remarkable in themselves.[13] Remarkable only is the triad of *vivis, regnas,*

[13] Every single verb can be traced easily in finales of prayers and benedictions, for instance:

qui vivit et regnat, or
qui vivit et imperat, or
qui vivit et gloriatur, or even
qui tecum vivit et gloriatur et regnat.

For the last form, which seems to be relatively rare, see the coronation order from 888,

imperas, that results, and the stress laid upon this phrase. In the Vetus Itala the corresponding words are so far apart that they are entirely without emphasis ("qui *vivis* cum patre et spiritu sancto et *regnas* unus Deus," etc.), nor are they brought into prominence in the Roman missal ("qui tecum *vivit* et *regnat* in unitate spiritus sancti," etc.). In the third version, however, the three beats of *vivis*, *regnas*, *imperas* have clearly the very active and energetic function of leading towards the acme of the whole phrasing, a function reflected also by the musical accompaniment. This triadic asyndeton with an implicit climax and with the longest as well as weightiest word at the end [14] is an artistic rhetorical figure, and the gradually increasing effectiveness of the clauses is not merely chance. This triad is not formed quite at random by transposing the *gubernare* of the Roman missal in the form of *imperare* to the final clause. Indeed, it is influenced by another triadic saying which, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, was used almost like a proverb and then enjoyed the greatest popularity, the triad of *vincit*, *regnat*, *imperat*.

Sol Christus vincit, regnat, rex imperat almus . . . ,

writes the poet of the Vita S. Clementis.[15] Pope Innocent III styled the *vexillum sancti Petri*, handed to the Tsar of the Bulgarians, the banner of Christ *qui vincit*, *regnat*, *imperat*.[16] In Sicily, a forgery of a Norman privilege allegedly granted to Messina, in

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edited by P. E. Schramm, 'Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen,' Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanon. Abt., XXIII (1934), 198. The triad of *vivis*, *regnas*, *imperas*, however, does not seem to occur in any other finale apart from the *praeconium*.

[14] The principle agrees with that of ancient acclamations, in which the doxological finale must be included anyhow; see, for instance, Sueton., Calig., 6, 1:

"Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus."

The principle of the climax is always the same. The triad of the Roman missal, on the other hand, displays a totally different rhythm of life, so that the two triads really disclose two fundamentally different currents within the Church.

[15] Written about 1005; cf. Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae, V, 131, line 581.

[16] Register VII, ep. 12; Migne, Patr. Lat., CCXV, 296.

1129, displays in the outer ring of the *rota* the words *Deum cole. Qui regnat, vincit, imperat.*[17] A South-Italian master of epistolary style and late follower of the Capuan School of Rhetoric,[18] who had served with Edward I, wrote after his former royal master's victory over Llewellyn, *vivat, regnet, vincat et imperet rex noster invictissimus Edwardus,*[19] thus combining the two verbs, *vivat* and *vincat*, which were used almost without distinction and became interchangeable. This is shown by a thirteenth century poet [20] addressing Frederick II,

Vivat Augustus quantum vult vivere,
Imperet, regnet in tanto tempore,
Ut suos hostes possit confundere . . . ,

though *vincere* would have fitted perhaps better into the context.

It would be easy to adduce many more instances of the proverbial use of this triad, the source of which becomes quite clear as soon as one casts a glance at contemporary parody.

Nummus vincit, nummus regnat, nummus cunctis imperat,

[17] K. A. Kehr, Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige (Innsbruck, 1902), 166, n. 1; for the literature on the document, see Erich Caspar, Roger II (Innsbruck, 1904), 501 f.

[18] It may be worth while to indicate the great number of letters of the Capuan and other schools of epistolary style, which begin with the words of the Exultet; see, e.g., Petrus de Vinea, Epistolae, II, No. 1, "Exultet iam Romani," etc.; ibid., II, No. 45, "Exultet universa turba fidelium," etc.; Berlin, Staatsbibl. ms. lat. folio 188, f. 66^{v}, "Exultet iam Romanum imperium . . . , exultet universa suorum turba fidelium," etc.; E. Winkelmann, Acta Imperii inedita (1880), I, 557, No. 702, "Exultet civitas Placentina"; Rymer, Foedera (1818), II, 1, p. 20, "Exultet ecclesia Anglicana." That the Capuan School of Petrus de Vinea was especially fond of the Exultet and its tone is not surprising. The School, in the first place, picked up all the elements contributing to the exaltation of the ruler; second, this prose hymn was a rhetorical masterpiece of rhythm, cursus and tone; cf. F. di Capua, 'Il ritmo della prosa liturgica e il praeconium paschale,' Didaskalion, N. Ser. V (1927), pp. 1–23; on the triad, see also Quinctilian, Inst. orat., VII, 4, 23; Weymann, in Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVII (1916), 79.

[19] Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 8567, f. 3^{v}; cf. ibid., f. 17^{v}, a Christmas sermon of the same clerk Stephen (whose letters I hope to publish shortly), which ends almost like the finale of the *praeconium*,

> quod ipse prestare dignetur . . . qui cum Deo patre et spiritu paraclito vivit, regnat et imperat in secula seculorum.

[20] The author was an Italian; cf. Tina Ferri, 'Appunti su Quilichino e le sue opere,' Studi Medievali, N. Ser., IX (1936), 250.

sings Walter of Châtillon,[21] whereas another twelfth century poet combines his lines,

> Est dominus terre nummus, quia regnat ubique,
> Imperat et dominis et dominatur eis . . . ,

with the invocation *Exaudi, candide numme!*, which burlesques the liturgical *Exaudi, Christe!* [22] It is evident that all these allusions refer to some familiar liturgical phrasing. This was not the South-Italian finale of the Exultet, but the chant of the *laudes regiae*, a famous and most impressive liturgical acclamation of rulership, which was sung on the great festivals of the Church and, above all, at the crown-wearings on festivals as well as at the inaugural coronations of mediaeval rulers.[23] This chant opens with the three clauses *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, which are followed by the invocation *Exaudi, Christe* and the acclamations proper to the various rulers such as pope, emperor, king, empress or queen, princes, bishops, officials, and army. This litany was most widely diffused from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and particularly the three opening clauses enjoyed a singular popularity in that period. They have a somewhat military sound and therefore seem to have appealed to the spirit of the crusading age. Indeed, these opening words of the martial Gallo-Frankish litany were used as a battle-cry of crusaders.[24] In some cathedrals of France soldiers or knights were the cantors of the

[21] Karl Strecker, Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon (Heidelberg, 1929), 110, No. 10.

[22] Paul Lehmann, in Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, XXX (1935), 49, verse 51 f., 104; the author is a Theodoric (of St. Troud?).

[23] See E. Kantorowicz, Laudes regiae (cf. supra, n. 12); P. E. Schramm, 'Ordines-Studien III: Die Krönung in England,' Archiv für Urkundenforschung, XV (1938), 315 f., 326, was able to refer to my ms. years ago, as it was then ready for print. For the time cf. Cabrol-Leclercq, 'Laudes Gallicanae,' Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, VIII, pp. 1898-1910, which is little more than an extract from the old, but remarkably circumspect work of A. Prost, in Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France, 4me sér., vol. VII = vol. XXXVII (1876), 149–320. The crown-wearings on the Church festivals formed the subject of a stimulating article by Hans-Walter Klewitz, 'Die Festkrönungen der deutschen Kaiser,' Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kan. Abt., XXVIII (1939), 48–96.

[24] Foulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, II, c. 30; Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. Occid., III, 413; see also Notes and Queries, vol. 158 (London, 1930), 65, 118.

litany.[25] Frederick II, in his earliest youth as King of Apulia and Sicily, bore them as a legend on his gold *bullae*.[26] And as he himself could not have started this usage, because he still was almost a child, there must have existed an older Norman tradition. In fact, the later forger of the above mentioned privilege of Messina obviously assumed the three clauses to be King Roger's device, the more so as Roger II really had used the triad as a legend for some of his coins.[27] He, or another Norman Count, by this started a usage later adopted by Saint Louis, who put this triad on the gold coins of France. There it remained unchanged as a symbolic prerogative of the *rex christianissimus*, until later French Kings changed the fuller wording of *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* into the shorter phrase of *Christus regnat, vincit et imperat*, which again tallies, unintentionally, with the finale of the Exultet.[28] The transition from the *laudes* to the phrase of the finale, we can see, was at hand.

Taken altogether, the emphatic wording of the Exultet finale was assimilated with the proverbial *Christus vincit* . . . , because this formula was, so to speak, ringing in the ears of al-

[25] Dom Martène, De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus, I (Antwerp, 1736), 614, with reference to Vienne, and 363, 366, with reference to Lyon.

[26] Huillard-Bréholles, Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi, Introduction (Paris, 1859), p. ci, and vol. I (1852), 212. Cf. O. Posse, Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige, I (Dresden, 1909), 27, Nos. 3, 4. The bulla was still used in 1243; cf. Böhmer-Ficker, Regesta Imperii V, No. 3369; Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum IV, Constit. II, 328, No. 239.

[27] According to Arthur Engel, Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie (Paris, 1882), p. 40, No. 50, Roger II's coin displaying St. January, Naples' patron-saint, on the obverse, bore on the reverse the obliterated legend, XPC VI·XPC [RE·XPC IM]; cf. pl. VII, 33. An uncertain Norman or Lombard princely coin of that age bears XC RE·XC IM on the reverse; ibid., 56, No. 166.

[28] Cf. A. Dieudonné, Les monnaies capétiennes ou royales françaises (Paris, 1932), II, 1, No. 1; see also A. Blanchet et A. Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française, II (1916), 48, and ibid., 329, fig. 177, for the shorter legend under Charles IX. The legend had been cut down very much earlier by Charles VI, whose *francs à pied* show the legend XPC*VINCIT*IMPERAT; cf. Allotte de la Fuye, 'Les francs à pied de la trouvaille de Blangy-les-Arras,' Revue de la numismatique française IV^{e} sér., vol. XXX (1927), 225 f. See also Flores Historiarum (Rolls Series, 95, pt. 1), 209, where the acclamation *Christus vincit* shows, in two 14th-century mss., the wrong reading *Christus vivit*. Hence the exchange of the two verbs was not unusual.

most everybody during the crusading age. It can hardly be doubted that the *laudes* have given the last color to the Exultet finale, particularly if one takes into account the Norman share in producing the spiritual atmosphere of the crusades.

There is yet another point to be taken into consideration. The *laudes*, which were known also in Sicily,[29] refer not only to coronations, but also to the festival crown-wearings of kings and emperors on Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, an observance which was at its height likewise in the early twelfth century. The *laudes* thus represented an integral part of the liturgical homage to the ruler in that period. The same is true in respect to the *praeconium*. The finale concluding this prayer includes, at the same time, the second most important manifestation of the ecclesiastical equivalent of ancient ruler-worship, the prayer for the King on the eve of Easter, which Pope Hadrian I had introduced in honor of Charlemagne.[30] Moreover, within the sphere of the ecclesiastical celebrations of the ruler, the *praeconium*, which was sung late on Saturday evening, was the prelude of the *laudes regiae* which were sung the following Easter Sunday. This seems to explain sufficiently how the assimilation of the finale with the *laudes* had come about. Homage to the ruler provides the connecting link between the two formulae, both of which are anyhow used like charms. Further, as far as we know, they were used as legends of coins and seals earlier in the Sicilian kingdom than elsewhere, perhaps because here only, where Greek and Gallican spheres

[29] *Laudes* of Frederick II: Palermo, Cathedral ms. 601, fol. 107–110; the formulary is printed by Giovanni di Giovanni, op. cit., 116 ff.; Giovanni Maria Amato, De principe templo Panormitano (Palermo, 1728), 425; Huillard-Bréholles, op. cit., 1, p. 9, n. 1. The Coronation *Ordo* of William II, printed by Schwalm, in Neues Archiv, XXIII (1898), 17 ff., contains the phrase, 'post epistolam cantetur laus regis.' The editor's interpretation leads us astray. That this Sicilian 12th century *ordo* refers to the coronation of William II and Joanna of England is evident from the fact that no other royal couple, as is provided by the *ordo*, can be considered; cf. P. E. Schramm, A History of the English Coronation, transl. by L. G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937), 59.

[30] See Mabillon's Ordo Romanus I, Migne Patr. Lat., LXXVIII, 949, § 24; 950, § 28. Cf. Joseph Kösters, Studien zu Mabillons römischen Ordines, Dissert. Münster, 1905, p. 12 ff. See also Ludwig Biehl, Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich. (Paderborn, 1937), Görres Gesellschaft: Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, Heft 75, pp. 89 ff.

intersected, the first clause of the *Christus vincit* took the place of the Greek IC–XC NI-KA, which the Normans adopted from Byzantine usage likewise in the early twelfth century.[31] This seems to explain the change of the Exultet finale and its accommodation to the opening of the *laudes regiae.*

Apart from the model after which the finale was shaped its spread is of some importance. As far as can be ascertained it was known neither in Germany nor in Northern Italy, where by then the Roman rite ruled undisputedly, and not even in France; but it is to Normandy that the finale can be traced. Two manuscripts from Rouen, now in Paris, contain that finale. The one is of the early thirteenth, perhaps late twelfth century,[32] the other of the end of the thirteenth century; [33] and the same drafting can be found in a fifteenth century missal of Rouen.[34] Normandy and Sicily thus had this version in common. The usual liturgical migration was certainly that from North to South, from Normandy to Sicily. A reverse influence, however, is by no means impossible. The general aspects as well as the perhaps fragmentary evidence of manuscripts seem to give priority to the South in this special case; for in Sicily the finale appears in early twelfth century manuscripts, in Normandy almost a hundred years later. This may be an accident of manu-

[31] This legend was used by Roger II obviously after his coronation only; cf. Engel, op. cit., 37 f., 43, Nos. 78, 81, 82, 84. Roger Bursa, Duke of Calabria and Apulia (1085–1111), used a lead bulla with this legend; ibid., 84, No. 9. For Roger II's bulla with the inscription IC–XC NI–KA, see K. A. Kehr, op. cit., 208. The Greek symbols survived until the time of Charles of Anjou; cf. G. Sambon, 'Monnaies de Charles I^er^ d'Anjou dans l'Italie méridionale,' in Annuaire de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie, 1891, p. 35; Luigi dell'Erba, 'La riforma monetaria angioina e il suo sviluppo storico nel Reame di Napoli,' in Arch. stor. Napol., n. ser. XVIII (1932), 163.

[32] Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 904, f. 96^v^; cf. Le graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIII^e^ siècle, p. p. V. H. Loriquet, Dom Pothier et Abbé Colette (Rouen, 1907), II, f. 96^v^.

[33] Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 905, f. 96, obviously a copy of the ms. mentioned before (n. 32), but adding an *et* to the formula of the finale, "qui semper vivis, regnas *et* imperas necnon et gloriaris."

[34] London (British Museum), Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Rothomagensis (printed on parchment, Mag. Martin Morin, Rouen 1499); the finale reads, "vivis *et* regnas, imperas necnon et gloriaris." A hundred years later Rouen had adopted the Roman Ordo; see, for instance, the Missale Ecclesiae Rothomagensis (1623) which I consulted in the British Museum.

script transmission.[34a] But there is another feature which might arouse our suspicion whether the usual hypothesis of migration from North to South really applies to the Exultet finale or not.

Our version was introduced into England, too, but almost certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century. The finale can be found in the famous antiphonary of Worcester Cathedral, dating back to the second half of the thirteenth century.[35] As Worcester, by then, had adopted the rite of Sarum, it is not to be wondered at that the whole bulk of liturgical manuscripts of the Sarum rite, which began to conquer great parts of the English Church, should show the "Sicilian" finale. Indeed, this finale seems to have spread to all the churches which then became dependent on Salisbury. J. Wickham Legg, in his edition of the Sarum Missal, shows clearly that all the early manuscripts follow the Sicilian and Norman version of the finale.[36] An inspection of two of the oldest Sarum manuscripts, the Tiptoft Missal in the Morgan Library [37] and the Sarum Processional in the Bodleian,[38] confirmed this observation.

From the researches of Edmund Bishop it is well known that the rite of Sarum cannot be traced earlier than the thirteenth century.[39] Certain agreements between this newer English rite and the liturgy of Rouen have long been noticed.[40] A slight

[34a] Unfortunately Brit. Mus., Addit. ms. 10028, a 12th-century sacramentary of Rouen, does not contain the Exultet; cf. Bishop, op. cit., 298. That the two 13th-century missals in Rouen, Bibl. munic., mss. 276 and 277, as well as the 14th-century ms. 278, have the triadic finale, may be taken for granted.

[35] Worcester, Cathed. cod. F. 160, fol. 221; a facsimile of the ms. in Paléographie musicale, XII (Solesmes, 1922); a print of the Exultet can be found in W. H. Frere, The Winchester Troper. Bradshaw Society, VIII (1894).

[36] J. Wickham Legg, The Sarum Missal edited from Three Early Mss. (Oxford, 1918), 119. The basic ms. of this edition is John Rylands, Crawford ms. lat. 24, which reads, "vivis *et* regnas, imperas necnon et gloriaris" (cf. supra, n. 34), whereas Bologna, University ms. 2565, shows, "vivis, regnas *et* imperas," etc. (supra, n. 33). Fifty-eight other mss. "secundum usum Sarum" are quoted by J. Wickham Legg, Tracts on the Mass. Bradshaw Society, XXVII (1904), xiv f.

[37] New York, Morgan Library ms. 107, f. 129; it reads, "vivis, regnas *et* imperas," etc.

[38] Ms. lit. 408 (Addit. B20), f. 66^{v}–67^{v}, from the second half of the 14th century. It shows the original reading without an *et*. Mr. D. v. Bothmer, formerly of Wadham College, had the kindness to check up the ms. for me.

[39] Edmund Bishop, Liturgica historica (Oxford, 1918), 277 f.

[40] Ibid.; cf. 296 ff.

divergence in the readings of the Exultet finale, very insignificant in itself, seems to confirm these observations. Within our tricolon (*vivis, regnas, imperas*), the Sarum missals frequently, indeed almost invariably, show an additional *et* which follows sometimes the first word, sometimes the second.[41] The same occurs in the two later draftings of the Rouen finale,[42] whereas in Southern Italy that additional *et*, which entirely destroys the compactness produced by the three beats of the asyndeton, is absent. The possibility that Sicily, nevertheless, received the formula from Rouen, whence England took it one hundred and fifty years later, cannot be excluded. Yet it seems not less likely that Rouen was the mediator between Sicily and England in that it transmitted to England what it had received from the South. This seems even more probable if we recall that the tricolon was particularly popular in Southern Italy; that it corresponded to the Byzantine XPICTOC NIKA adopted by the Normans; and that the text of the Sicilian and South-Italian Exultet showed a certain fluctuation anyhow, between the eleventh and twelfth century, when it changed from the Vetus Itala to the drafting either of the Missale Romanum or, in some cathedrals, to our third version. Considering these very obvious variations as well as the general conditions referred to we may assume — safely, as I believe — that our third finale originated in the South and migrated from there to Normandy and thence to England.

The liturgical relations between the three Norman Churches — Normandy, England, Sicily — need intensive study. There were influences effective not only from Rouen to Canterbury and Palermo, but also in the opposite direction, from Sicily to Normandy; and direct influences from the South to England must likewise be taken into consideration, as they are well known for cultural transmission in general even after the loss of Normandy.[43] The researches of C. H. Haskins have, almost

[41] Cf. supra, notes 36, 37; see also n. 38.

[42] Cf. supra, notes 33, 34; cf. 32.

[43] For the influences of the Capuan School of Epistolary Style see my study on 'Petrus de Vinea in England,' in Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, 51 (1938), 81 ff.; see also above note 19 concerning Stephen of St. Giorgio.

for the first time, thrown light upon the channels of intercourse.[44] A recent thorough study by Lynn T. White, Jr. has added new material.[45] In a brilliant sketch Miss Evelyne Jamison has pointed out the "lively interest" which Anglo-Norman writers took in the South-Italian affairs in general and in the ecclesiastical institutions of King Roger's Sicily in particular.[46] And, also recently, Percy E. Schramm has emphasized the "extraordinary resemblance" between certain ceremonies observed at the second coronation of William II of Sicily and Joanna of England in Palermo (1177) and those observed at the second coronation of Richard I, seventeen years later, at Winchester (1194).[47] But apart from the crowning ceremony there are other subjects concerning cult and liturgy well worth re-investigation from a more pan-Norman point of view, for instance, the *patrocinia* and *officia* of South-Italian saints in Normandy and England. The most recent researches on St. Nicholas of Bari have shown clearly that the Norman settling in Southern Italy gave an enormous impetus to the cult of the saint in the Norman motherland as well as in England, although St. Nicholas' name was familiar in England and Normandy before that time.[48] Before 1119, a Norman, John

[44] C. H. Haskins, 'England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century,' in Engl. Hist. Rev., XXVI (1911), 433 ff., 643 ff., and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science (1924), 185 f., and passim.

[45] Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 34 f., 47 ff. and passim.

[46] 'The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries,' in Proceedings of the British Academy (1938), 237–285, especially 268.

[47] A History of the English Coronation (cf. supra, n. 29), 59 and 253. I am not sure whether or not in all European countries the customary coronation taxes figured among the "aides aux quatre cas"; in England and Sicily, at least, they did; cf. Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, II (4th ed., Oxford, 1904), 60, and the letter of Pope Martin IV (1283, Nov. 26) to Charles of Anjou:

> . . . collecte et subventiones tantum fiebant, cum rex Sicilie pro defensione ipsius regni defensionem faciebat ac in coronatione regis ipsius necnon, etc.

Cf. Baronius-Raynaldus, Annal. eccles., III, 562 f.; Les registres de Martin IV (Paris, 1913), 225, No. 488. Richard I, by the way, planned to promote a South-Italian, the Archbishop William of Monreale, to the See of Canterbury; cf. Epistolae Cantuarienses, ed. Stubbs (Rolls Ser. 38, 2; 1865), 329 f., nos. 347, 348; cf. p. 537.

[48] K. Meisen, Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande, eine kultgeographisch-volkskundliche Untersuchung. Forschungen zur Volkskunde 9–12 (Düsseldorf, 1931), and Otto E. Albrecht, Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas (Philadelphia,

the Deacon, monk at St. Ouen, wrote a life of St. Nicholas in verse and prose,[49] and Alboldus of Bec and St. Edmund's composed his *miracula* of the saint.[50] An *officium* of St. Nicholas, however, was written by a monk of St. Pierre in Rouen, called Isembert, about 1030;[51] it had a wide circulation in Normandy and seems to have influenced the Nicholas *officia* at Worcester and of the Sarum use.[52] Also the feast day of St. Mary's Conception, originating undoubtedly in Byzantium,[53] deserves our full attention. In Byzantine Southern Italy, in Naples, it is traceable as early as the ninth century;[54] but it remained without influence in Western Europe until it made its surprising appearance in eleventh century England, and there in a somewhat doubtful connection with the name of Anselm of Bec.[55] Admittedly, there remain many questions to be clarified about this feast day of December eighth, which in the

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1935), two excellent studies on the subject. For the diffusion to Normandy, cf. Meisen, 89 f., and his amazing lists of Nicholas *patrocinia*, pp. 137 ff., Nos. 410a–517. In England the Saint counted 437 dedications and held the 7th place after St. Mary, All Saints, St. Peter, St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. John Baptist; cf. Francis Bond, Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches (Oxford, 1914), 17; Meisen, 513. His name is found in the *laudes* of William I and Queen Matilda, which were sung at Winchester in 1068; cf. William Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae (2nd ed., Oxford, 1882), II, 86.

[49] Histoire littéraire de la France, X, 262 f.; cf. Albrecht, op. cit., 13 ff.

[50] The Miracula S. Nicolai [barensis] conscripta a monacho beccensi, "itself a significant title" (cf. White, op. cit., 51, n. 8), is printed in Catal. codicum hagiogr. latin. Bibl. Nat. Paris., II (Brussels, 1890), 422 ff.

[51] Meisen, 177; cf. 89.

[52] Albrecht, loc. cit.

[53] K. A. Heinrich Kellner, Heortologie oder die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres und der Heiligenfeste (3rd ed., Freiburg, 1911), 183 ff.; Bishop, op. cit., 238–259.

[54] Angelo Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, V (Rome, 1831), 65, reproduces the "Kalendarium marmoreum saeculi IX" of Naples with the entry on December 9th, "Conceptio s. Anne Marie virginis." Cf. Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Hagiographie Napolitaine,' Analecta Bollandiana, LVII (1939), 59, who once more edited the calendar and dates it ca. 849–872. Cf. Bishop, 257.

[55] Kellner, op. cit., 187 ff. Not St. Anselm, but St. Anselm's pupil Eadmer, is claimed to be the author of the Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae, ed. Thurston and Slater (Freiburg, 1904). Before 1092, the Abbot John of Telese, in Campania, was St. Anselm's pupil at Bec, so that the interchange between South and North, via Bec, is not really a mystery; cf. Eadmer, Historia novorum in Anglia, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series, 1884), 96, and White, op. cit., 51, n. 8. Bishop, 258, takes other possibilities into consideration, e.g. the visit of Canute the Great to Rome (in 1027).

kalendarium of the Sorbonne has a note: *festum Normannorum; non legitur* [56] and about which Henry of Ghent remarks: *Normanni . . . pre ceteris populis illam conceptionem precipue celebrant.*[57] The most plausible explanation seems to be that it was from Byzantine Norman Southern Italy that this feast day spread to Normandy and England in the late eleventh century.

Thus, if in liturgical matters reacting influences from South to North were effective at all and if the observations mentioned above concerning the *praeconium paschale* are borne out by investigations on a broad basis,[58] then it would seem advisable to keep an eye also on South-Italian liturgical usages whenever the origins of the rite of Sarum become the subject of fresh research. At any rate, the liturgical unity of the three Norman states seems to have been proved true, once more, in connection with our exclusively Norman finale of the Exultet. It was merely to this problem that I wished to draw attention.

[56] The calendar is from the late 14th century; cf. H. Omont, 'Le livre ou cartulaire de la nation de Normandie de l'Université de Paris,' in Mélanges de la société de l'histoire de Normandie, VIII (Rouen-Paris, 1917), 65. The 'English Nation' in Paris introduced the day in 1375; cf. Liber procuratorum nationis anglicanae, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, in Auctarium chartularii universitatis parisiensis, I (Paris, 1894), 480 f.

[57] Kellner, op. cit., 191, no. 4.

[58] Such investigations should also take into account the correspondence with the accompanying music by comparing the plainsong neumes; they may be found in practically all the texts quoted above. Of the Madrid ms. 132 (supra, n. 8) a facsimile is published by Delisle, loc. cit.; of the other Madrid ms. (lat. 289, f. 115^{v}), which may be destroyed, a reproduction is found below.

TWO LETTERS

Editorial Foreword by

WILLARD L. SPERRY

Among the historical documents of Harvard Divinity School is a volume entitled The Records of the Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. This is a history of the School written year after year, by students. The annual scribe seems to have been a member of the senior class, duly elected to this post and for this task. The records began with the year 1827 and were kept up through 1893. It is our hope to appeal to alumni of the intervening years, and eventually to bring the book down to date.

It goes without saying that this intimate and informal history of the School is full of interest. There can be few institutions happy enough to have such a record, made by students and presenting the student point of view over an uninterrupted period of more than a half century. This book, matched with the faculty minutes for the same period, gives us an invaluable account of the earlier years of Harvard Divinity School.

Certain entries for the year 1834 contain accounts of meetings held by the students, which finally led to the drafting of a letter to be sent to the two most conspicuously liberal theological schools in Europe — the one, Manchester College, then in York, England; and the other, the Protestant Seminary in Geneva.

The text of this letter was entered by the student scribe for the year, and early in 1835 there is mention of replies from the schools overseas. The record says that the letter from Manchester College was read to the student body and duly filed. So also the French text of the answer from Geneva; but the book enters only an English translation of the French response.

Unfortunately we have not yet been able to put our hands on the original French reply or on that from the English college. It is our hope that they may eventually be discovered among our archives. Meanwhile we are printing here, as a comment upon the situation of a liberal theological seminary a century

ago, the relevant parts of the letter originating in Harvard Divinity School and likewise the relevant parts of the French answer. The irrelevant parts, which have been omitted from both letters, are simply what would be known today as catalogue material. They are a recitation of items regarding professorships, courses, conditions for degrees, et cetera.

Meanwhile these pages recover from the past something of the pioneer mood of the times and give us an intimation of the loneliness which was felt by the theological liberals of that day. One is made aware, more in Geneva, perhaps, than in Cambridge, of the aftermath of secularism which lingered on from the revolutionary movements of the late eighteenth century, and, in the Genevan annoyance with the intrusion of Methodist missions, one is also made aware of the problems which enthusiasm to the point of zealotry always creates for more sober types of the religious life.

The record seems to make it clear that the approach to Manchester and Geneva was prompted by Professor Henry Ware, Jr., of the Harvard Divinity School faculty. It is apparent that he had already visited one or both of these two institutions, but we may assume that the Harvard letter, in its final form, however inspired and edited by Professor Ware, is the work of the students themselves. This attempt of three widely separated and somewhat isolated student bodies to establish a century ago some sort of contact with one another is significant, and should be at this time reassuring.

I

THE HARVARD LETTER

"On Friday Evening Feb. 7th [1834] a subject was suggested to the consideration of the School by Mr. Briggs, which had before been suggested by Prof. Ware, Jr. to one or two individuals of the School, which was this: — the propriety &c of opening some communication between our Theological School and the Theological Schools at Geneva in Switzerland, and Manchester College in York, England — the only two schools of the same religious sentiments with ours: A

Committee of 5 was appointed to consider the subject, converse with Prof. Ware, and report.

"On Friday Evening, Feb. 14th Mr. Briggs of the above mentioned Committee reported — that they had conversed with Prof. Ware &c. That some communication of the kind should be opened, was thought not only proper, but highly desirable. The three schools now stand entirely isolated — apart from each other. What could be better than that they should have some knowledge of each others' concerns — that there should be some sympathy between them? And should any from amongst us, happen to visit Europe, what better and more pleasant introduction could he have at these schools, than the feeling that he was not entirely a stranger and mere sojourner among them? It was then thought expedient that this plan should be pursued: viz: that a letter be written to each of the above mentioned schools, giving an external and an internal history of our School, of which perhaps they now know little or nothing, — and whatever other information in relation to ourselves, or anything else, which might seem expedient.

"A Committee was appointed by the Chair, for this purpose: consisting of one from each class; viz: Mr. G. W. Briggs, Mr. C. A. Bartol and Mr. O. C. Everett. (Chairman of the meeting, Mr. J. Thurston.)

"Friday Evening March 14th:

"A meeting was held after the usual debate, to hear the letter of the Committee appointed to write to the schools at Manchester (Eng.) and Geneva, (Switzerland) and adopt measures respecting it. Mr. Osgood was called to the Chair and the following letter read by Mr. Briggs, chairman of the committee, which might be sent to either of the above mentioned places, with a few slight alterations. It was determined that any such alterations which should be thought fit, should be made.

"To the Theological Students in Manchester College, — York — England.

Christian Brethren.

"The students of Divinity College in Harvard University, at Cambridge [Massachusetts] in the United States of America, desire to solicit a correspondence between themselves, and the students of those Institutions in which perfect freedom of inquiry on Religious subjects is enjoyed. In America, we stand alone. There are but two or three Institutions in the world, with which we can fully sympathize. Those Institutions are in distant lands, and we can hardly

hope ever to enjoy the privilege of meeting any of our friends, who are, or may be connected with them. But though deprived of the privilege of personal acquaintance with them, we can send them the expression of a sincere and fraternal sympathy. We can salute them as fellow labourers in promoting the spread of a pure, simple, rational and liberal faith — in freeing Christianity from the corruptions that were grafted upon it in darker ages, and in striving to restore it to its original simplicity, as it came from the lips of Jesus. And we have felt that it would be good for us to give and receive such fraternal & Christian salutations — that by Communication with our friends, we might be led to discern and adopt many things which would aid our advance in knowledge & piety — that it would strengthen our resolutions to be faithful in effort, to give ourselves wholly to the Service of Christ.

"It is with such feelings & views, that we now address you — and perhaps we can do nothing more acceptable to you, than to give a brief account of the Institution with which we are connected — its past history — and present condition.

"Harvard University, with which our Institution is connected, consists of a College, in which a general education may be acquired, and three departments in which young men may be educated for the professions Law, Medicine & Theology. The course of instruction in the college, occupies 4 years — in each of the 3 Professional Departments, 3 years.

"Some means for Theological Education have existed at the University from its first establishment in 1636. But these means were, for a long period very small — & those who resorted hither for the study of Divinity, pursued it under the direction of a single professor, in much the same way as it was formerly pursued under the care of a single clergyman. It was not until 1815 that any efficient measures were taken for the establishment of a Theological School — and not till 1819 that it was formally established. In 1826, a building was erected, expressly for the use of Theological Students. And from 1819 until the present day, greater and more abundant provisions for the instruction & aid of the students have been continually made.

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"Graduates of any reputable college are admitted, after passing an examination in Hebrew Grammar & the first ten chapters in Deuteronomy. Other gentlemen are further examined, so as to convince

the Faculty that they can engage advantageously in the studies of the School.

"In each year there are 3 vacations, which amount to 10 weeks — and at the end of each academic year there is a public exhibition — at which essays are read by each member of the graduating class.

"It is the aim of the Instructors of the Institution to conduct its Students through the whole of the broad field of Theological inquiry — not by any means designing or expecting to make them masters of this inexhaustible Science in three years — but they wish to take the Student by the hand, and mark out a plan for his future investigations — to direct him to the true sources of information — to give him those great principles which may guide him to the truth — and so to discipline his mind that he may be prepared to act efficiently in every exigency and to meet the requisitions of Society. He is expected to learn the use of his weapons — to attain habits of strict discipline — to become inured to active exertion — so that when he is called to the scene of action, he may move with energy & effect.

"Everything is done to promote free and unrestrained investigation. We are encouraged to hear all sides — to examine differing opinions with candour & impartiality, — and to decide for ourselves. We are referred to the labours of others, not to take blindly from them, their opinions & sentiments, but that we may make their labours minister to the activity and energy of our own minds. Every man's individual responsibility for his opinions, is recognized and taught. Nothing is deemed so valuable as perfect mental freedom —and no instruction is thought good, unless it tends to awaken the powers of thought — to give the full & free use of those talents which God has granted — in a word to train up an intelligent & independent mind. The truth is the great end for which we are directed to seek. This we are taught to love and value above all things else. — We value Unitarianism because we believe it less tinctured with error than any other form of Christian Doctrine, because according to the light we have, it appears to be the truth. We bear the name of Unitarians cheerfully. But the name we most love is that of seekers after truth — and earnestly do we seek clear light from God's word & gladly would we throw aside our present opinions should that clearer light prove them erroneous.

"It is the purpose of our Institution to train up an intelligent ministry — for such a ministry is demanded by the circumstances of the times in our Country. Opinions can no longer be propagated among us by authority or tradition. Almost all among us require a reason,

before they will embrace any opinions. Soon it will be so with all. We are standing in the transition state from a blind to an intelligent faith. Of course we stand in the period of danger. Everything is questioned. Everything must receive a thorough & searching examination — and many who are superficial in attainments will rush into the fearful extreme of skepticism. Indeed in this respect the state of religious opinions in this country is peculiar. On one side, are the adherents of a blind & superstitious faith, vainly striving to resist the spirit of the times, and retain the mind in bondage — on the other, are organized bands of unbelievers, who identifying true religion with its corrupted forms, have renounced it altogether, and are now earnestly endeavouring to scatter the seeds of scepticism & unbelief. Under the Providence of God, the result of these contentions must be good, though the process may be dangerous. Like one who is climbing a lofty mountain, we must walk on the verge of many fearful chasms. But we shall at last reach the summit, and stand amidst pure, unclouded light.

"In the meantime those who go forth as defenders of the truth, must be armed at all points. They should be thoroughly educated men, if they would be successful — able to answer all inquiries — to meet all difficulties — to guide the host of anxious inquirers safely through all the dangers that assail them, from blind submission to others on the one hand, & licentious speculation on the other, to a firm, rational & abiding faith.

"The circumstances of our situation not only demand that ministers should be men of intelligence but also men of action. It is the aim of our Institution to train up an active race of men. It is the imperative duty of Clergymen here, to act upon the public mind whenever an opportunity occurs — to purify by a savour of divine truth, all the great currents of opinion that are sweeping through society. The public will is the supreme law of the land — and the great mass of the people are ever in motion, acted upon by some influences, receiving impressions from some source — either good or bad. All those influences must be good — all those impressions pure — or dangers greater or less will threaten us. The duty then is plain for every Christian Teacher to prepare himself for active exertion — for active exertion in a wider sphere, than the performance of what are generally deemed his peculiar duties. He must throw himself into the moving mass, and everywhere set up the standard of truth and righteousness. For such a service we are exhorted to prepare. Adaptation is the great duty urged upon us, that adaptation which would lead us,

in whatever circumstances we may be placed, to seize every opportunity of exerting a good, a religious influence — and to use it, prudently — perseveringly — efficiently.

"Much is done to promote this end by a society which has existed in the School for the last 3 or 4 years — called the Philanthropic Society. Its object is to inquire into the principles, modes of operation, merits & demerits of the various benevolent institutions of the day — such as missionary, Bible, Tract, Prison Discipline, Peace & Temperance Societies — Sunday Schools — to consider the subject of Education generally — the means for the prevention of pauperism and crime — the causes and remedies of scepticism & Infidelity — to obtain & communicate information respecting the moral & religious wants of the community, and to devise & mature means by which we may most effectually aid in promoting all good & benevolent objects.

"Our mode of operation is the following: Some important subject is referred to a Committee — whose duty it is to make inquiries, to collect information, & present a full report. Resolutions are appended to the report & offered to the Society for discussion, and long, spirited, & interesting discussions almost invariably succeed. Some of the Professors are generally at our meetings, & they join with us in the search for truth.

"No one thing, we are sure, has been more beneficial to us, than this society. Indeed we could not convey by any words, an idea of the good it has accomplished. It gives us a knowledge of the religious wants of the community — the means in operation to meet those wants, and the character of those means — and excites us to seek those which would be more effectual. It creates an interest in benevolent operations, and kindles within us a more ardent Philanthropy. Our meetings are held as often as once in two weeks — sometimes upon some exciting subjects much oftener.

"Nearly all the members of the society are engaged in giving instruction in various ways on the Sabbath. In the States Prison of Massachusetts, Charlestown, there is a large Sunday School of convicts under the direction of the Chaplain of the Prison. Six or eight members of the School attend as teachers — from 3 to 5 go to a jail near our Institution for the same purpose. In this jail, instruction is given to the prisoners, separately in their cells. Some have occasionally taught the children in the Almshouse at Cambridge on Sunday mornings. And 10 or 12 are regularly engaged as Superintendents & teachers in the Sunday Schools. Most of them in Cambridge, some of them in Boston — & some in other schools within 3 or 4 miles of the

University. In all these ways, we hope to do some good — and we are certain that by seeking out & improving such opportunities, we are preparing for more extended action, hereafter.

"We have thus endeavoured, Christian Brethren, to give you a slight sketch of our Institution, & the modes of instruction pursued in it. Our present number of students is 25. During the last 17 years, 137 Preachers have been educated at Cambridge. Our School never has been large, but we trust and expect it will steadily and constantly increase.

"We hope that you can obtain from what we have written, some acquaintance with us, & our situation — and we trust it will not be uninteresting to you, to learn of our welfare. We feel that we are your Brethren. We frankly tender you the right hand of Christian Fellowship and earnestly desire that you would favour us with a similar communication. It is our intention to write to Geneva, and solicit a correspondence with the Institution there. Perhaps also we shall write to Transylvania.

"Should you desire it, we would gladly send you any of our Periodicals and Pamphlets, which are peculiarly interesting to Liberal Christians, in exchange for any which are published in England.

"With earnest prayers that we may all be built up in the faith & spirit of the Gospel, and that we may meet together hereafter in a happier world, to engage in a more exalted service — we are

Yours in Christian Love

George W. Briggs
C. A. Bartol
O. C. Everett" *Committee*

Cambridge March, 1834

II

THE GENEVA LETTER

"Wednesday Jan. 14th 1835. This evening, after an adjourned meeting of the Philanthropic Society, a letter was read to the school, which had been received, through Professor Ware jr., from the Academy at Geneva, Switzerland, in reply to one which was sent there by the School last year. (see p. 61. The original French may be found among the Secretary's papers.) It was voted that the following translation (made by some members of the School) should be recorded. It was further voted after some discussion, that the same committee,

which had charge of writing the letter last year (Mr. Lovering having been chosen in place of Mr. Briggs), should be authorized to continue the correspondence at such time as they should see fit.

Geneva — July. 1834.

"Dear Friends & Brethren in J. C.

We are very sorry for the necessary delay, to which this answer to your excellent and friendly letter, has been subjected; it reached us at the commencement of the month, & as it is in the time of vacation, we have not yet had a public reading of it in our School: but we reply to you in their name, assured that we have the universal approbation of our companions in study, after the marks of satisfaction which all those have given, who have had knowledge of your so obliging & friendly letter.

"We also, dear brethren, are very desirous of having a correspondence with you, for we too, pupils of Geneva, have upon the continent very few Churches with whom we might completely sympathize; & esteem ourselves then very happy in meeting in the New World spirits formed like ours, & hearts ready to understand us.

"The principles which you express, your tendency, your position, your dangers; all these circumstances are identically the same with us as with you; of which you can convince yourselves by our letter, & by the account of travellers who have visited us. Methodism tends with us to invade everything; happily talent (l'esprit) & good public opinion are here to check its progress. Nevertheless, the cantons of Vaud & Neufchatel, which border upon us, & with whom it had been so pleasant to us to maintain religious relations, these cantons have experienced the fatal influence of the moment. They are very orthodox, & in several places, especially of the canton of Vaud, very intolerant. The Protestant Churches of France are very scattered, & several are reached by the scourge. There are in this great Country but two faculties of Theology. That of Montauban has no conformity with us; its orthodoxy keeps us mutually separated. That of Strasbourg which agrees with us, has not dreamed of commencing with us the relations of students to students; but there exist many & very happy ones between the Professors. We accept then with eagerness your offers, regretting only the slow delays which our letters must experience, considering the great distance which separates us. We have absolutely no knowledge of the Universities of Transylvania, not

supposing that that country contained in it any Protestants; but here, in exchange for yours, are the details which we are able to furnish you, upon our Academy in general, & upon our Faculty of Theology in particular —

"As early as 1542, Calvin demanded the foundation of an academy at Geneva; it was not until 1559 that this excellent measure received its execution. The two first professors in Theology whom we had, are *Theodore de Beza*, the friend & disciple of Calvin, first rector of our academy, & *Calvin* himself — Calvin the legislator & the founder of different institutions of our city much more than its religious reformer, since at his arrival in our walls, our blessed reformation had already been accomplished by three men, the memory of whom lives in our hearts, *Farel, Viret,* & *Froment.*

"We do not merit the title of University, because our courses of Anatomy & Physiology do not present the whole subject sufficiently to make good physicians. This is not the fault of professors — we have a faculty of medicine entirely organized, & who would be ready to give instruction, but our city does not offer *subjects* enough for the establishment of an amphitheatre. All our young persons who are destined for this career, go to pursue their studies at Paris or at Edinburgh. — Our Academy furnishes scholars (savants) properly called, lawyers, & theologians.

. . . . . .

"The *Theological faculty*, from the nature of the object it proposes to itself, deserves to detain us a little longer. The general aspect of the department is the same as that of the faculty of Law, viz: four years of study — annual examinations — a general examination before being admitted to the ministry — & theses printed & defended publicly. But the Theological student has to comply with some further conditions. Thus he is required at his entrance into the Lecture room to show the degree of Bachelor of Letters, & if he be not Bachelor of Sciences, at the moment of consecration, he must pass an examination in Physics & Philosophy. Besides in the course of the 4 years the student has to compose 2 Latin dissertations on a point of sacred Science; he has also to compose & pronounce in the Lecture room 6 sermons which are criticised by 2 Professors, & may, if bad, be refused. If the Professors are satisfied with them, they authorize the student to preach them in the churches of the country.

. . . . . .

"Here you see, dear Brethren, the principal source of our learning. With us, as with you, great care is taken in treating a subject, to point out to us the literature of the subject — i.e. the books which handle it in the most remarkable manner. We obtain assistance in our labours

"1. from our Public Library, which contains 50,000 vols., and which is remarkable chiefly for works on Theology; for Calvin, its founder, was naturally more interested in this department than in others.

"2. The Library of the Reading Society — a remarkable establishment, of which Mr. Ware has doubtless spoken to you, & which contains nearly 30,000 volumes. It serves as a supplement to the Public Library. While the latter is chiefly rich in ancient books, the Reading Society is most interested in obtaining valuable books of modern publication.

"3. & last — our Theological Lecture room has a small Library — quite limited indeed, but containing those theological works most indispensable to a student. — We endeavour to learn the German language, & to make ourselves acquainted with the books published in it. Our eyes are turned towards Germany as the *New East*, whence come all the lights of Science, & especially of Theology. We know not whether your vision resembles ours in this respect. Ours has proceeded either from our own judgement or the example of our Professors, with whom the Germans are in high esteem.

"Thus you have the progress of our studies up to the present time. They began the first of November & continued without interruption till the 24th of May. The examinations took place the first week in June. The Summer was considered as a vacation; & we found it very useful to spend upon our sermons, dissertations, memoirs, & theses — & in short to make particular inquiries into those subjects which were most interesting to us. Moreover this vacation time was abridged by 6 weeks, which were taken up with Lectures — from the first of August to the 15th of September. After this year however, all this system will be given up, and another substituted, of the arrangements of which we know but little, because it has not yet been put in practice. We will speak of it to you another time when we shall be better able to give you the exact particulars.

"As to the general organization of the studies, since the time of Calvin, the Academy (composed of Professors who were paid for their instruction, & of some honorary Professors who gave gratuitous courses for the sake of this title) has the general inspection of the

studies, with the approbation of Government. The presiding officer of this Academy was a Rector taken from itself: & it supplied any vacancies which might happen among the Professors. For business of minute detail, each Faculty might form itself into a tribunal, over which the oldest professor of the Faculty presided with the title of Dean: but all this is soon to be changed.

"The salary of the Professors is very small & furnished by the Government. They have about *70 Louis* a year (about $310.00). The Students give nothing of this. The entrance money which they pay every year, & which is about 12 francs, goes to the Treasury of the Academy, & serves for keeping the Halls in order, for supporting the Beadles, for fuel, light, & other expences. You see then, that with us study is by no means dear. — The Pastors are payed no more than the Professors. Much complaint is made of this moderate salary — & in truth it seems hardly sufficient, especially in a country where food & lodgings are so expensive. This however does not hinder us from having, either as Professors or as Pastors, men of high distinction — the reason of which probably is, the high respect attached to these offices.

"Our ordinary examinations are oral — but examinations for Degrees must be made in writing. The following are the only degrees used among us.

Bachelor of Letters } Bachelor of Sciences } The union of these
Doctor of Letters } Doctor of Sciences } two baccalaureates is sufficient to obtain the degree of Master of Arts.

"In the Faculties of Law, the degree of *Doctor* is the only one necessary; and this is equivalent to that of Advocate, for it gives the right of pleading.

"In Theology we take the title of Minister of the Holy Gospel. The examination of Doctor of Theology is as difficult as that of Professor. Indeed very few Ecclesiastics take the pains required to obtain this degree.

"We are much satisfied with a favour just obtained from the French Government; viz: that degrees taken at Geneva shall be as valuable as those taken at a French Academy. This prerogative was very necessary to us, considering the great number of French students who come here to learn Theology – in whose favour there are pensions, which were established on occasion of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes under Louis XIV. There are no pensions for the Genevese.

"Besides the inspection of the Academy, to which the students of Theology, as well as those of the other departments are submitted,

they are also subject, as future Ecclesiastics, to a *moral* examination from the Clergy, whose association is called the *Company of Pastors*. The Students are directed every Sunday, one half hour before Divine Service, to read the word of God & the Commandments of the Law to the people who begin to collect themselves in the Temple.

"We have been exceedingly interested in the lively & entertaining details you have given us of your philanthropic societies & the part you take in them, & their beneficial influence upon yourselves, & at the same time we have regretted that similar associations have not been established among us. We do not wish by this to imply that our city is destitute of establishments & societies analogous to yours; we have indeed committees of public & provincial utility, of the religious education of the young &c. &c. But among us, these societies are composed of mature men, & the students have little or no part in them. The analogy we can offer you is an extraordinary service at the prisons, which consists of useful, instructive & edifying lectures, & is additional to the regular services of the Chaplain of the prison, which are performed by the students. Besides this, we have not yet been able to render ourselves useful to our country, as you appear to be to yours.

"We can say, dear brethren, that the influence which is attempted to be made upon us, is identical with that of which you speak; and we could not be astonished at it, when we saw by the details of your letter, that your religious position is the same as ours. — You know to what an extreme of impiety & atheism the French nation was drawn, about the end of the last century. Our city, Swiss in heart & national spirit, but French in language, manners & all external appearances, received the recoil of everything which happened in France. — & unhappily, at the same time she felt impiety & atheism attempting to penetrate her own bosom. Skepticism was but too much fomented by the writings of Voltaire & his residence near us at Ferney. At present — thanks to God — impiety & atheism do not appear in the manners & literature of the public, though they are still manifested by secret thoughts & wicked actions. Our condition is a miniature of that of France. There are many minds — behind the spirit of the age (arriéres) — which still regard Voltaire as their oracle, & by habit or inheritance, still read his bad jokes & are skeptical — which they do not conceal. This skepticism is a profound affliction to religious minds. Such of us as are *Unitarians*, in fact if not in name, by wise & moderate measures, by making them esteem & love the Gospel, attempt to bring them under its banner. But there is one serious ob-

stacle which prevents the success of our efforts: the Methodists, their restless fanaticism, & superstitious opinions. We must confess that it is the spectacle of skepticism, which has perhaps given them birth; but in fact we now fear them more than all things besides. They have taken Geneva as the centre of their military operation; & their journals & pamphlets proceed from this place. The "Evangelical Gazette" is printed here. It is from this place that the intelligence, which furnishes matter for the "Archives of Christianity," proceeds — the "Sower," & the English journals of the same character. Here has been founded a Theological Seminary, the rival of our own; & here they have assembled their chosen men. Finally, it is here that the gold of England & of many parts of America flows together to sustain their plots & their intrigues. Fortunately they have found some obstacles — they have suffered some regular & well-sustained attacks from our Professor, Mr. Chenèvière; & some time ago Mr. Cellériér declared against them more strongly than he had previously done — & the Geneva Protestant has been established to refute their most important calumnies & satisfy the most imperious wants.

"We rely upon the public mind. No theologico-mystical absurdities can easily enter the well-organized minds of reasonable men. This has been an iron wall, against which they have spent their blows. But they have found more success among the women, & particularly in an aristocratic *coterie*, where their notions are fashionable. Some young men, exalted or ambitious & greedy of praise, & others who have no other means of success, are united with them: and the connection still subsists, thanks to the novelty & singularity of their position, & to the amount of money they obtain in contributions of all kinds. — But were they abandoned to their own strength they would soon perish. Besides, the public mind, aided by our courage, our perseverance & the protection of God, will be able to preserve the Gospel from all their corruptions, & will enable us to transmit to future ages a Christianity as pure as that we have received.

"Such is our hope, & such the object of our efforts. We conclude this letter, dear brethren, by thanking you sincerely for the notice you have taken of us by this correspondence; & finally we are proud & grateful for the attention (prèfèrence) you have shown us, & with our souls' deep feeling, we promise you the same friendship you have had the goodness to offer us. — We shall consider ourselves extremely happy if any among you should be able to take a journey to Europe the ensuing year & give us some aid at the third Centennial anniversary of our glorious Reformation. It was in 1535 that the people of

the little Geneva shook off the chains of Catholicism & embraced the Protestant liberty of thought & conscience; & thus unconsciously laid the foundation of her future prosperity & fame. It will be at about the 20th of August 1835 that we shall celebrate this great event; & if any one of your number could come to share in our joy, we should receive him with the greatest pleasure, & make every effort to render his stay in our country pleasant & agreeable.

"Dear Friends, accept the expression of our regards & of our sympathy — have confidence in our affection — & leave not without reply, your brothers of Geneva.

In the name of the Auditory of Theology,

(Signed) Lucius Roehrick
Charles Chenèvière
Lucius Jaquet"

ANOTHER INSTANCE OF ὀρθοποδεῖν

Readers of the Journal of Theological Studies may recall the interesting note by Mr. C. H. Roberts in the issue of January, 1939, vol. XL, no. 157, pp. 55–56. In connection with the occurrence of the verb in Galatians 2, 14 (ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κτλ.), Mr. Roberts calls attention to the appearance of the noun ὀρθοποδία in a recently published private letter of A.D. 117 (Papiri della R. Università di Milano, No. 24), which contains the sentence: νὴ τὴν σήν μοι σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τεκνίου μου καὶ ὀρθοποδίαν, ἧς πέπεισμαί σε κήδεσθαι οὐκ ἔλασσόν μου κτλ.

It may be owing to the King James Version ("But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel") that the verb received its definition "*walk straight* or *uprightly*" in the body of the revised edition of Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, and it is almost certainly owing to Mr. Roberts' note that the Addenda et Corrigenda now include ὀρθοποδία from the Milan papyrus ("*going straight forward, success*") and alter the former definition of the verb to "*advance, make progress.*" In the Milan letter there is, as Mr. Roberts says, no intimation of "going straight" in a moral sense, but rather one of "progress, and so success." He further contends, rightly I believe, that the phrase in Galatians means: "they are not advancing towards the truth of the gospel." This not only gives a better interpretation of the verb but also retains the fundamental, directional idea of πρός with the accusative case. The moral implication involved in "walk uprightly in relation to" (Burton) or "in accordance with (Lightfoot) the truth" does violence to the ordinary meaning of the preposition. I may add to Mr. Roberts' argument the fact that the Latin versions of the passage in Galatians (*sed cum vidissem quod non recte ambularent* [or the variant *ingrediuntur*] *ad veritatem euangeli*) reproduce the underlying idea of advancement or progress toward the truth.

Mr. Roberts' interpretation is supported by a passage in an unpublished letter in the University of Michigan's collection of papyri (Inventory No. 337). The writer, an illiterate woman named Aria, tells of some petty business transactions and complains to Dorotheus about her bitter poverty. Both her syntax and spelling are eclectic, and her handwriting, an irregular, ungainly cursive of the third century, attests her own work rather than that of a more practiced scribe. From the opening formula of greeting: [προη]γουμένος (= -ως)

εὔχωμε τ[ῇ θίᾳ] προνοίᾳ παρὰ τῷ θ̄ε(ῷ), it may be inferred that she was a Christian, although the phrase may not be conclusive evidence of the fact. The pertinent passage (lines 21–25) reads:

21 τ̣[ὸ πεδ]είον ὀρ-
θοποδεῖ ἐν ἐμοὶ εἶνα καὶ τοῦτο
καὶ οἶδας ὅθει τὸ πεδείον τὸ ὀρφα-
νεικὸν παρ' ἐμ[οῦ] ἐσθεῖν καὶ χερί-
25 αν ἔχω ἀναλωμάτων αὐτή.

[21. l. παιδίον as in l. 23. 22. l. ἵνα. 23. l. οἶδας for εἰδῇς. l. ὅτι. 24. l. ἐσθῇ. l. χρείαν]

This I take to mean: "the child is getting on in my house, and that you may know this too, the orphan is eating at my cost and I myself have need of money for expenses." Here, as in the noun of the Milan papyrus, there is certainly no moral significance. The point Aria wishes to make is that the child is getting on, growing up, and that its advance in years involves an increasing financial burden for herself. Her use of the verb is, as Mr. Roberts remarks of ὀρθοποδία, of interest in that it indicates that "yet another unique or rare verbal usage in the N.T. has its complement in the ordinary κοινή of the period."

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